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The Shape of Things

EVERYONE IS FEELING THE PRE-INVASION tension, but among civilians, magazine editors, perhaps, bear an extra strain. *The Nation* goes to press at midday on Monday—2½ days before it will reach any reader. Monday, as our deadline approaches, the offensive in Italy is the big news, but we have no means of telling whether it will not have fallen into place as a part of a much bigger whole by Thursday morning. In the Teheran declaration we were promised an assault on the Nazi fortress from east, west, and south. The southern fist has now struck, and we can be sure that the still mightier punches from east and west will follow in short order. In Russia the fall of Sevastopol has been followed by a lull, but reports of supplies moving up to the front hint at a new blow in preparation. In the west the aerial assault is still growing in intensity, with ever greater attention to tactical objectives—defense works, airfields, supply dumps, railroad yards, bridges. Zero hour cannot be far away, but whether we shall again be waiting for it next Monday, facing the same dilemma, only General Eisenhower and a few others know.

*

WISCONSIN CONTINUES TO BE A CENTER OF political interest. After Wendell Willkie's defeat there last month, Eastern Republicans were at great pains to deny that an isolationist trend in the state was indicated. But now we see the Wisconsin Republicans adopting a plank calling for "a clear-cut, realistic foreign policy which will promote world peace and protect American ideals." Comparatively harmless as these words sound, they take on a new significance when we learn that the following sentence was deleted from the original draft: "We do not believe in isolating America from the rest of the world to the detriment of a permanent peace." This plank brings the Wisconsin G. O. P. close to the isolationist policies long championed by the Wisconsin Progressives under the leadership of Robert and Philip La Follette. And in return the Progressive convention two days later declared its liaison with the Democrats to be at an end, opening the way for a deal with the Republicans. It is true that Senator La Follette, when asked what he intended to do in the Presidential race, said that he would await developments. But after describing the New Deal

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as "a casualty of war" and charging the Administration with failure on both the home and foreign fronts, it would seem that he must either support the Republican nominee or stay on the sidelines. It is probable that he will choose the first alternative, for "Bob" himself will be looking for new support in 1946. Moreover, if he moves into the Republican camp he will become third ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where his two seniors are men approaching eighty. Thus he could expect early succession to the chairmanship if the Republicans won the Senate. Surely the prospect of a new Borah in this key post will stir internationally minded Republicans to vigorous action.

✶

THE DAY OF MARTIN DIES IS AT AN END. No longer will the loud-mouthed demagogue parade as the impartial investigator, the informer be elevated as the savior of his country, the bigot be hailed as patriot. The day is past when to be liberal is to be "un-American," when the "American way" leads back into the dark recesses of yesterday's intolerance, when black is called white. The quitting of Martin Dies is a victory for that Americanism which Dies talked about so much but understood so little. For Dies felt the mounting wrath of the American workers he classed as "red": their registration was up 25 per cent in his district. His own county Democratic organization denounced him. His withdrawal followed almost immediately the announcement that a decent Democrat would oppose him in the Texas primaries. The ground swell of fundamental American liberalism is running strong—Rush Holt was stopped cold in his attempted comeback in West Virginia; Martin Sweeney, friend of Father Coughlin, was blocked in his gubernatorial aspirations in Ohio by liberal Mayor Lausche of Cleveland, who is said to have a good chance against the Republicans; Representative Howard J. McMurray, stalwart internationalist and fighting liberal, was chosen as the Democratic candidate for the Senate in Wisconsin. Americans are shaking themselves clear of the doldrums. The battle is not over, but it is well begun.

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AS SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS REMINDS US on another page, the TVA idea is spreading around the world. This immensely fruitful experiment in the geopolitics of peace, which incidentally has made so important a contribution to our war effort, is likely to exert a powerful influence on the post-war planning of other lands. Hundreds of pilgrims from all over the world will in years to come flock to the Tennessee Valley to observe the methods by which the development of a whole great region has been built on flood control, soil conservation, and power. They will, that is, if TVA is allowed to continue as it has begun—a responsible publicly owned corporation operating on a non-political basis. For the TVA is under heavy attack in Congress, where the Senate has approved proposals which would strangle it in political red tape. At the instigation of Senator McKellar, amendments were attached to the Independent Offices Appropriation bill which would take from TVA the flexibility in management it derives from its ability to use its revenues as a revolving fund, and would plunge it into politics by making employees earning more than $4,500 a year subject to Senate approval. Fortunately, these proposals are encountering strong opposition in the House. They have also stirred antagonism in the valley itself, where something like a popular uprising in the defense of the TVA has taken place. In Tennessee Senator McKellar seems to be in a minority of one. The whole Congressional delegation from the state is fighting his amendments, and the voters of the state, and even the business interests, are opposing them vociferously. These protests are being echoed all over the country. If Congress has an ear to the ground, TVA will be saved.

✶

THE SUSPENSION OF FATHER ORLEMANSKI looks like an over-hasty Bishop's move. The Springfield priest had just returned from a private mission to Moscow that promised great gains for his church and for the Polish people. Stalin had talked to him for nearly three hours and, reiterating his belief in an independent Poland, had assured him that the Catholic church would be free from persecution. Stalin's promise is in line with the general abandonment of Soviet anti-religious policy. Bishop O'Leary took stern disciplinary measures because Father Orlemanski was AWOL from his parish over Sunday and because he was guilty of "treating with Communists." In contrast with a large section of the Polish American community—as Eric Estorick shows elsewhere in this issue—Father Orlemanski had been active through the Kosciusko League in urging a policy of understanding and cooperation with Russia. His suspension, therefore, is more than a personal rebuke; it is almost tantamount to a slap in the face for Joseph Stalin at the very moment when, for a variety of reasons, he is showing himself particularly kindly disposed toward the Catholic and other religious faiths. If Father Orlemanski carries his case to higher courts in the church, it is to be hoped that there will be found the imaginative justice to admit that the unorthodox vision of a courageous priest sometimes penetrates to a reality hidden from the eyes of ecclesiastical legalism.

✶

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS once again repulsed the advances of John L. Lewis, and John is not so much hurt as he is terribly, terribly angry. In blistering polysyllables he has denounced the executive council of the Federation for its refusal to admit his United Mine Workers to membership on *his* terms. He

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accuses the council of "characteristic servility to the Roosevelt Administration" and "base hyprocrisy approximating to moral turpitude." There is, of course, ground to believe that one reason for A. F. of L. hesitation in welcoming Mr. Lewis was his hostility to the President. For whatever complaints some of the A. F. of L. leaders may have to make about the Administration, they are unlikely to forget how much labor has improved its position under the New Deal. Yet it is doubtful whether the political issue would have proved a final barrier to readmission of the U. M. W. if Mr. Lewis had not so obstinately insisted that his charter must cover District 50—the catch-all machine with which he has been raiding other unions. Apparently he was willing to drop some of District 50's claims, but he stuck to his demands for the right to organize all chemical workers. This encroachment on the jurisdictional fields of other unions outraged the most sacred principles of the A. F. of L. Thus Lewis by his dictatorial claims has played into the hands of his political enemies and succeeded in isolating himself. Perhaps he will still try to make a deal with the Republicans, but they may well regard him as a dubious asset, especially since there is no guaranty that he can deliver even the miners' vote.

*

REJOICING OVER THE FRANCO AGREEMENT did not last long. Editorial writers and radio commentators ordinarily engaged in glorifying our foreign policy had barely forty-eight hours to hail this latest great diplomatic victory of ours. On the third day, signs of discouragement became evident in London, which, in this case at least, bears greater responsibility than Washington for allowing the United Nations to make fools of themselves. The London press has begun to complain about the double game Franco is playing in giving wide publicity to the lifting of the oil embargo while silencing any talk of commitments he made in return for our generosity. Allied representatives in Madrid have had to make repeated demands that General Franco live up to his written word and expel Nazi spies from Tangier. Up to the moment of writing, these demands have fallen on deaf ears. No Nazi spies have been expelled from Tangier. The German Consulate there is as active as ever, and its doors as wide open. On the eve of invasion, Franco Spain, as we pointed out in last week's issue, is permitted to continue its work of espionage and sabotage behind the Allied armies. As far as the economic aspect of the argreement with Franco is concerned, the Russian publication, "Red Star," has expressed the point aptly: the agreement failed to include "iron ore, lead, copper, mercury, and other mineral products that Germany imports from Spain." There is only one safe outcome for our relations with Franco—to break them off, and immediately.

THEY DO SOME THINGS BETTER IN Hollywood than in Washington. Once a villain, in Hollywood, always a villain. The moviemakers know better than to confuse the customers by casting Boris Karloff, say, in the role of a good old family doctor. But the policymakers in Washington are seemingly incapable of such subtle psychology. Time after time they try to make us accept fascists as democrats, quislings as patriots, careerists as martyrs, and enemies as friends. We can be thankful that Elmer Davis, though he is no policymaker, has enough pride in his work to keep them from making some particularly bad blunders now and then. His latest public service along this line was his editing of a radio speech by John F. Montgomery, former Minister to Hungary, calling on the Hungarians to resist the Nazi forces of occupation. We were at war with the government of Regent Horthy for a long time before Hitler found him inefficient, but Mr. Montgomery was planning to tell the listeners to the illegal democratic radio that Horthy was a "great leader," that his government was democratic, and that anything they might hear to the contrary was "mendacious propaganda." He wanted to end his speech with the ringing words, "Back up the Regent!" Mr. Davis, who is responsible for broadcasts to enemy countries, naturally blue-penciled these baffling remarks. Mr. Montgomery then refused to speak at all. Since he is known in Hungary, it is probably just as well.

*

WE'VE NEVER BEEN RUN OVER BY A GALLUP poll. We've never been stopped by an inquiring reporter. We've never been chosen as "the man in the street." Nobody, you might say, ever asks us anything. We've sometimes felt slighted by this neglect. But we're just as glad we weren't caught by the questioners for the John B. Pierce Foundation which has recently published Volume IV of "Family Living as the Basis for Dwelling Design." "The ultimate objective of the housing research," we are told, "is to design dwellings on the basis of specifications arrived at as a result of scientific investigation." And one section of Volume IV, understandably enough, is devoted to The Bedroom. Most of the findings, and the questions they reflect, leave us relatively calm. We would certainly agree, for instance, that "the most important item in connection with sleep is the bed" (Page 26). We were mildly interested in knowing that "stumbling over bedroom furniture occurs among 23 per cent of the wives and 29 per cent of the husbands"—the awkward brutes. We were slightly alarmed to discover that 14 per cent of the wives reported that they had "slept with their head at the foot of the bed within the past week." "At the time this was done," adds the report with cold imperturbability, "we do not know whether the husband reversed his position too, or continued sleeping with his head at the head of the bed." But what really made us resolve never

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to be a "sample" were two questions which even the Pierce Foundation, in our opinion, has no right to ask. The first was "Have you fallen out of bed within the past year?" the second, "Did you wear bedroom slippers last night?" Only the Marx Brothers could answer those questions without incriminating themselves.

Prosperity Is Indivisible

IN ANY attempt to appraise the work of the twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia, we must bear in mind the handicaps under which it labored. It met at a moment when the world was entirely preoccupied with thoughts of the impending invasion. The task of the delegates was to project their minds beyond the battle-lines to the time when bread and butter would be more important than cannon, but obviously D-day was constantly in their thoughts, as it was in those of their newspaper audiences.

Another difficulty was the somewhat anomalous nature of the International Labor Organization. In one sense its conference was a gathering of the United Nations, but with neutrals present it could not act as such. Moreover, one of the mightiest of the United Nations—Russia—was absent despite strenuous attempts by the Governing Body of the ILO to persuade Moscow to send a delegation. The Soviet government had several good reasons for abstention. It disliked the fact that the ILO was still organically part of the atrophied League of Nations, from which the U.S.S.R. was expelled in 1939. It objected to the participation of neutrals and particularly of countries like Argentina which lend both spiritual and material comfort to the enemy.

Yet if the Russian seats at Philadelphia were empty, Soviet influence was powerfully present. Unfortunately it was an influence largely of a negative kind, since it served to postpone action. Such questions as the rehabilitation of Germany, the protection of foreign workers transferred or deported by the Germans, and the future status and functions of the ILO itself were shelved partly on the plea that no decision could be reached without Russian participation.

Despite these obstacles, the conference was, we believe, more worth while than the newspaper accounts of its proceedings might appear to indicate. Couched as they are in officialese (Geneva dialect), the resolutions adopted seem at first reading to be rather unexciting catalogues of lofty ideals. The first resolution, for instance, the so-called Philadelphia Charter, sets forth the aim, purposes, and principles of the ILO in extremely large terms. It consists of five parts: 1. A reaffirmation of the fundamental principles on which the organization is founded: labor is not a commodity; freedom of expression and association are essential to progress; poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. 2. A social Bill of Rights which asserts that the central aim of national and international policy must be the creation of conditions under which all human beings can exercise the right to pursue their material well-being and spiritual development. It is the responsibility of the ILO to "examine and consider" all international economic policies in the light of this fundamental objective and to make appropriate recommendations. 3. An extensive program of economic welfare in which the first item is "full employment and the raising of standards of living." Among other provisions are recognition of the right of collective bargaining, social security, protection of the workers' health, assurance of equality of education and vocational opportunity. 4. A pledge that the ILO will cooperate with whatever international bodies may be intrusted with the tasks of promoting economic cooperation. 5. A declaration that, while the manner of the application of the principles set forth in the resolution must take into account the stage of social development reached by each people, they are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere.

The Philadelphia Charter, it will be agreed, is broad enough in its aspirations to satisfy almost any social idealist. But is it so broad as to run the danger of remaining a "paper" resolution which reactionaries can indorse without fear of being called upon to put its principles into practice? The very unanimity with which the delegates, representating the governments, workers, and employers of forty-one nations, voted for the charter might seem grounds for dismissing it as a purely pious declaration.

Nevertheless, at the risk of being labeled "starry-eyed" we are prepared to maintain that the charter, and still more the discussions which preceded its adoption, represents a new point of departure in international cooperation. The war has brought home to all but the most opaque minds the fact that "peace is indivisible." The trend of thought at Philadelphia indicated a widening recognition of the equally important truth that prosperity is indivisible. Again and again in the course of the debate delegates stressed the interaction of national economic policies. A slump in one country, particularly if it is highly industrialized, is rapidly reflected in the economies of others. It follows that no one country can hope successfully to promote full employment while others are enforcing restrictionist measures. We can no longer claim that national economic policy is solely our business. It is everybody's business, and we, in turn, are concerned with the budgets voted by the British Parliament or the production decrees of the Supreme Soviet.

Planning for prosperity, therefore, must be undertaken internationally as well as nationally if we are to find a cure for the cruel spasms of alternating economic contraction and expansion. The ILO at Philadelphia has helped to turn men's thoughts in this direction; it needs no other justification.

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Avery and the G.O.P.

SEWELL AVERY'S private war goes on. A substantial majority of employees at his Chicago establishment have reaffirmed their allegiance to the C. I. O.'s Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees Union, but this clear-cut expression of opinion has in no way curbed Avery's anti-union crusade. In costly newspaper advertisements, prior to the election, Avery had piously declared he could not renew a maintenance-of-membership agreement until his employees had a chance to vote. Now they have had their chance, and Avery announces he will not sign a maintenance-of-membership contract under any circumstances, for reasons which he has outlined to the public on many previous occasions. The new declaration is a pretty pointed commentary on the sincerity of Ward's advertising campaign.

Meanwhile the scene of Avery's sitdown strike has shifted. The War Labor Board has certified to the White House a two-year-old conflict involving workers at the Hummer plant in Springfield, Illinois, a Ward subsidiary engaged in extensive war production. The pattern of the dispute is entirely similar to other Ward cases: the company has defied a unanimous WLB order; the workers, after an impressive display of patience and good faith, have finally struck. But the change in locale may be of vital importance. The editorial writers, columnists, and random orators who have invented rationalizations for Avery's conduct in Chicago—on the ground that no war production was involved—can no longer use this smoke screen. Hummer produces carburetors, propellers, gun mounts. The issue is reduced to unmistakable simplicity: can Avery wreck our war-time labor-relations machinery by a successful revolt against the WLB? Even Arthur Krock will find it difficult to show that the Hummer case is more complicated than this statement of it.

There may be divergent views as to the wisdom of the government's course in restoring the Chicago property to Avery before Judge Holley could render a decision on the legal questions involved in the seizure. We would have preferred to see a clear judicial verdict on the government action. But the important fact is that Avery and his associates have served notice they will not be swayed by the outcome of any NLRB election, and that their attitude toward the WLB is in no way affected by the extent to which one of their plants produces war materials. They have just begun to fight. The prospect of imminent European invasion has not diverted them from their major preoccupation—to drive unionism out of their business.

The far-reaching political implications of the battle are plain. The Chicago *Tribune* gaily informs us that a "prairie fire of indignation" is sweeping the country over the Chicago seizure. The photograph of Avery being transported out of the plant will be a major Republican document, the same journal reports. One year ago it was a Republican labor leader named John L. Lewis who was engaged in a nation-wide war against the Administration's labor program; now it is a Republican industrial baron who carries the banner of revolt. We suspect that this is the real clue to the duration of the fight. If it is humanly possible, Avery will prolong the shooting through the campaign months. The Administration has no choice except tough and resolute action. If Avery wins, labor's no-strike pledge is dead; the rebellion against the no-strike agreement at the Steel Workers' convention last week, quelled only after an extraordinary appeal by Philip Murray, reflects the mood of large groups of industrial workers. Unless Avery's revolt is crushed, labor disaffection may assume grave proportions. This fact is recognized by most government officials, and it is entirely possible that by the time *The Nation* is off the press the Hummer plant will be in government hands.

This time we hope Administration leaders will make a more serious attempt to tell the country the full story of Avery's war-time record. At his first press conference after his return to the capital, President Roosevelt complained that the press and radio had suppressed the essential facts of the Chicago controversy. As far as most influential organs of opinion are concerned, his charge seems eminently justified; certainly the climate of editorial opinion has been overwhelmingly favorable to Avery, but part of the blame for that result rests in Washington. Neither James F. Byrnes nor other high officials connected with the seizure intelligently utilized the available means of presenting the government's case to the public. Seemingly none of them realized the degree of confusion which would ensue; none of them took the elementary step of going on the radio to explain to the country that the seizure of a mail-order house did not mean the socialization of American society and the expropriation of victory gardens.

Not much reliance can be placed on the two Congressional committees named to investigate the Ward case; Senator McCarran, heading the Judiciary Committee probe, has already dispelled hope that his group will tell labor's side of the story and has indicated that the committee will stick to "legal" aspects of the seizure. Although the House committee is headed by able, progressive Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, the present temper of that body is not precisely sympathetic to labor or to the Administration. So we may expect a new rash of irresponsible doubletalk unless the Administration itself sets forth its case through every medium of opinion. The urgency of such action cannot be overestimated. For Avery is undoubtedly willing to lose half a dozen union elections if he can help the Republicans win the big propaganda war of 1944.

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Thomas E. Dewey

BY I. F. STONE

Albany, May 11

ALBANY fascinates me, but I can't say the same for Dewey. The capital of New York would inspire Dreiser and depress De Tocqueville, but its Governor is a Republican Presidential candidate, very standard model. I've waded through a foot-high pile of Dewey messages, speeches, and statements kindly supplied by his affable press secretary, James C. Hagerty. I listened to the Governor address the American Newspaper Publishers' meeting in New York and watched him being charming to the hopeful on the platform after it was over. I've read almost everything written about him, except the Rupert Hughes work, which seems to have confused him with George Washington and Lucky Luciano with a cherry tree. I've talked to people who work closely with him and to people who hate him, the latter being easy to find in Albany and New York, where Dewey has been seen in close-up. And all I can report is that for the first time since becoming a Washington correspondent and on one of the few occasions since I became a newspaperman, I found myself with an assignment that bored me.

On international affairs, Dewey might be Warren G. Harding, an internationalist but—. On domestic affairs, where straight Hooverism is no longer possible even for a Republican, Dewey might be Alfred Landon, unalterably opposed to the New Deal, four square against its threat to the American way of life, but in agreement with its basic principles, though he thinks they are poorly administered. As a public figure, he is as familiar a type—the "clean-government" reformer who is death on all crooks except the really big and respectable ones of our society. As a man, he is competent, courageous, hard-working, but extraordinary only in his drive, his singleness of purpose, the intensity of his ambition. I don't think he is wicked, sinister, dishonest, or fascist, though I suppose he will have such epithets thrown at him when the campaign gets heated; I think he is a good American, very far removed from anti-democratic crackpots, racial bigots, and Bertie McCormicks. But the man is uninteresting because he presents no complexities, deviates in no way from type. I can see nothing but the commonplace in his mind. I sense no lift of idealism in his spirit; his motivations seem to me wholly self-seeking. And the personality is completely lacking in human warmth.

This may sound harsh and it may be unjust, but it is said only after much thought and consideration, and it checks with the reactions of people who are his friends as well as with those of his enemies. Dewey has been called "a boy scout," and he is one in the sense that he sees the problems of our society purely in the obvious and elementary terms of personal morality; I say obvious and elementary because he would not see the profounder immoralities in our customary ways of living and doing business. But he is not a boy scout in the sense that he would let a naive but praiseworthy and wholesome sense of duty stand in the way of personal aggrandizement. He chose the law as a profession because he thought it offered the prospect of greater and more secure financial rewards than singing; none of those who have written of him or who know him claim that he was attracted to the law as a useful way to spend one's life, or because he was inspired by the example of some great judge or advocate. There is nothing in him of the Galahad or the Quixote. His sensational splurge as prosecutor in New York was a quick stepping-stone to the Governorship, not the beginning of a job that he felt had to be completed in the interest of civic duty or clean government, and the Governorship is a stepping-stone to the Presidency. He is a kind of Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford in politics, a man who plays for the quick rise and the big profit. That the profit is in personal advancement rather than money is a detail, not an essential. Dewey's eye has always been on the headlines, not the stars. The men who worked with him as D. A. will tell you that the press was as constantly in their thoughts as the jury.

A certain humility makes a man lovable and marks him wise. Dewey reeks of self-assurance. You look at him on the platform and think of Browning's line, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp," but only because the two spring from such different worlds. It is only in the most superficial sense that Dewey would ever think of himself as unfit; he is said to be busy boning up on American history now in preparation for the Presidency. He would never think of himself as unworthy. Big men usually have a sense of fun. Roosevelt has it, Churchill has it, Lenin had it, so saintly a figure as Gandhi jokes and frolics. Dewey would never dream of making a joke at his own expense. His humor, or what passes for it, is heavy-footed, as when he referred to newsboys at the publishers' dinner in New York as "purveyors of your products." (I was there; I heard it.) He is not what we call a regular guy. There is nothing in him of Willkie's rich curiosity, human interest, or careless vitality. Dewey is small stuff and cold fish, handsomer and physically

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robust but really a good deal like Coolidge, frugal spiritually, a man who does not give himself freely.

I saw Dewey for the first time at the publishers' dinner, a trying event for most of those present because so many long-winded speakers preceded him, a trying occasion for him because Eric Johnston of the United States Chamber of Commerce tried to steal the show, and almost succeeded. Johnston's speech was the improvisation of a shrewd high-school boy, and I remember it chiefly for its gorgeously mixed metaphors, but it went over big with the publishers. Dewey seemed restive until his moment came. He went forward like a singer, chest out, enormously self-possessed. He sounded like a man who had studied with a first-rate elocutionist in a smallish town. One could have written a musical score for the speech. His gestures, the modulation of his voice, the measured emphasis and stress, were too perfect to be pleasant; the manner was conceited. When he praised Secretary of State Hull, it was with the gracious condescension that he might have used in patting a small boy on the head. The speech was expertly prepared and made Johnston's seem as amateurish as it was. Dewey gave an orotund solemnity to such hollow stuff as "When we have ceased to wage war, we shall have to wage peace," with the air of a man delivering an epigram.

In Albany I found those close to Dewey devoted to him. Four investigations are going here full blast, and the town is overrun with racket-busters who used to work for Dewey in New York. They like him, irrespective of political differences, for Dewey is competent, a good executive, and the young lawyer's ideal of a prosecutor. The young men in his immediate entourage are capable rather then brilliant, and already envisage themselves as the Harry Hopkinses and Louis Howes of the next Administration. It is a giddy thing to be on a Presidential band-wagon, and those few of them who have New Dealish backgrounds are rapidly throwing earlier ideas overboard as excess baggage. Even in this innermost circle one has the feeling that Dewey inspires fear and respect rather than affection. "He's very self-centered and never seems interested in you personally," said one racket-buster reflectively in answer to a question. But outside the circle of Deweyites, one encounters only dislike of the Governor.

In part, this dislike is to Dewey's credit. The town is comfortably corrupt. So is the Legislature. The Governor's attack on the local O'Connell machine brought reprisal in the shape of an O'Connell investigation of the Republican Legislature. Dewey was forced to take the investigation over to protect his party, but the man he chose as special prosecutor, Hiram C. Todd, is forceful and independent, and there will be difficulty in keeping the investigation within safe bounds. Dewey started out to investigate favoritism in assessments in Albany, the payment of current expenses out of bond issues, and election frauds. He hoped to duplicate in Albany the success he had achieved as a gang-buster in New York and break the one important Democratic machine upstate. But an investigation of the Legislature, which has been Republican-controlled for many years, was not part of his original plan. The fears this investigation has aroused in his own party have served to make Republican legislators subservient to him, and he has ruled the Legislature like a little dictator. But the inquiry itself will not be allowed to go too far because it would hurt the Republicans more than the Democrats in an election year and would inevitably involve big money interests with which Dewey is himself allied.

To understand the political problems that confront Dewey in Albany, one must understand this old Dutch town at the head of navigation on the Hudson. It exhibits the slatternly side of the Democratic process. For the first twenty years of the century it was solidly Republican. During the past twenty years it has been as solidly Democratic. During both periods it has been corrupt, and during both the respectable elements have shared widely in the benefits of machine government. They resent these investigations. The Democratic era began with an alliance between Dan O'Connell, son of a saloon keeper, and the old-family owner of the Alleghany-Ludlum steel works. Albany's political revolutions have not been the result of uprisings by an outraged citizenry but of internal feuds in aging political machines. A legislative investigation before the last war plus some fiery attacks by Teddy Roosevelt upon the Barnes political machine only increased the Republican vote at the next election, and there are many people here who think local resentment will enable the O'Connells to pile up a larger majority than ever before. Dewey's unpopularity in Albany might cost him New York State and the Presidency.

From all I can see, the O'Connell machine is still united and vigorous. Unless Dewey can unearth evidence of some major crime, it is unlikely that he can shake its popular strength. But the O'Connell machine has been in power so long that it has been many years since any rough tactics were required to keep either its henchmen or the populace in line. Public standards are higher than they were a generation ago, and in some respects conditions under the O'Connell regime are better than under Barnes. The "Gut," Albany's old tenderloin, no longer flaunts its red-light section. The principal "crimes" Dewey has been able to lay at the door of the O'Connell machine are not of a kind to bring ordinary Albany citizens tumbling from their beds in alarm. "Bookmaking" establishments operate pretty openly. There are plenty of slot machines around. Saloons are open all night selling Hedrick beer, the O'Connell family brew. Election frauds seem to be common, but the O'Connells have so tight a grip on grand and petit jury lists that not much could be done about them.

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Albany's city government seems to have been holding down its tax rate by paying current expenditures out of capital borrowings. Assessments seem to be adjusted to aid the deserving and teach the independents a lesson; Dan O'Connell's first political job was as tax assessor, a post he used to good advantage in building his machine. These are dishonest practices no one could wish to condone—except the property owners and lawyers who benefit by them, and their beneficiaries are many. We Americans are for clean government in theory and political favors in practice. This makes the Dewey type popular—at a distance. One of Dewey's advisers in Albany is a nice young Republican lawyer who represents large property interests through his father-in-law's estate, helps run a leading real-estate firm, and does a substantial volume of business representing the Republican minority which has to take its assessment appeals to the courts instead of to the district leader. Dewey assigned him to investigate assessments, and the investigation will make it easier for a time to be a Republican in Albany, but an assessments scandal will neither break the O'Connell machine nor make dramatic headlines elsewhere.

In part Albany's dislike for Dewey is a result of his shortcomings as a person. Other Governors were gracious and became part of the life of the town. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Lehman lived, shopped, and entertained in Albany. Both were a familiar sight downtown. "Albanians," as they call themselves, have the civic patriotism of a Greek city-state. "We never see Mrs. Dewey," they complain. Albany feels that Dewey is only a man on the make, hurrying through on his way somewhere else. It is contented in its corruption, thinks its civic misdeeds no worse than those of most cities, believes it is being smeared and sacrificed to provide a Dewey triumph, resents a certain ruthlessness and self-righteousness in the Governor's attitude toward it.

There are many complaints that Dewey is rude and standoffish in dealing with the townspeople. Lehman was chairman of Russian War Relief in Albany; as a matter of courtesy Dewey was invited to succeed him. The invitation went unanswered. The Inter-Racial Council runs a Booker T. Washington Center here. It held a musicale to raise funds. Tickets were sent the Governor. They were returned unacknowledged. The 4-H clubs held their annual meeting here. It is customary for Governors to address the meeting. Dewey refused because the Mayor of Albany had also been invited. He agreed to speak only when the Mayor withdrew. "He can't put his political ax aside for a moment," said one Albany newspaperman. Albany would agree with the irate Republican lady who once said, "You have to know Dewey to dislike him."

[In a later issue Mr. Stone will continue his discussion of Governor Dewey, with particular reference to his ideas on national and foreign issues.]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

WITH CHARACTERISTIC SECRECY, the revised Covenant of the League of Nations was made public only on the morning that it was laid before the delegates. . . . Even those who have opposed the present League as inadequate and misleading ought to give it the benefit of the doubt, and to hope that out of this beginning there may develop a League worthy of the name.—*May 3, 1919.*

BOTH OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC OPINION in Europe are beginning to take Lenine seriously. However hatefully much of his performance may still be regarded, it is coming to be recognized that a man of intellectual force, of marked personality, and of iron will has let loose a new idea in the world.—*May 3, 1919.*

THE DEEDS THAT MANNERHEIM did in Finland as leader of the White Guard were not reported in the newspapers. It was not recorded how the White Terror in Finland systematically executed 60,000 officials of labor unions, heads of cooperative enterprises, and Socialist leaders of different grades of radicalism. . . . It is the government of this reactionary general, this imperialistic murderer, that America has now recognized in Finland.—*May 17, 1919.*

IT WAS NOT TO BE HOPED that there would be a generous peace. The wickednesses of the German armies were too obvious, the bad faith of the German imperial government had been too clearly demonstrated, to admit of any settlement which did not impose heavy penalties. . . . For a rigorous peace, in short, the world was already somewhat prepared. But it was not prepared for a peace of undisguised vengeance, for a peace which openly flouts some of the plainest dictates of reason and humanity, repudiates every generous word that Mr. Wilson has ever uttered regarding Germany, flies in the face of accepted principles of law and economics, and makes the very name of democracy a reproach. In the whole history of diplomacy there is no treaty more properly to be regarded as an international crime. —*May 17, 1919.*

"TWELVE MEN," by Theodore Dreiser. . . . A fruitful attack upon Mr. Dreiser's substance can be made only by invalidating his facts. But this no one has sought to do. . . . His powers of observation and of vicarious experience are of the first order. By virtue of them he ranks among the major novelists. . . . In the narrower sense, however, he cannot write. No man of equal power has ever written so poorly. . . . So that one finally gains a vision of him as of a giant in chains. In chains, indeed, but a giant none the less. —*May 24, 1919.*

THE LATEST NEWS FROM PARIS is that the Council of Four has decided to recognize conditionally the Kolchak and Denikine governments. . . . Diligent search by *The Nation* among the Russians of all shades of opinion in New York has thus far failed to disclose one willing over his own name to write an article favoring this old friend of the Czarist regime.—*May 31, 1919.*

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TVA on the Jordan

BY GEORGE W. NORRIS

THE TVA idea has gone round the world. Its fame has spread to every place where men have struggled with the problems of nature, for it is a blueprint turned into a reality. Actually, it is a very simple idea, based upon the principle of preserving the natural resources of the country.

Until the advent of the Tennessee Valley Authority men built dams upon streams almost solely to develop power, and the location of one dam had no relation to the location of any other on the same river system. The TVA considered a whole river system as a source of power, and prepared to develop it as a whole, not piecemeal. Before the TVA our fertile valleys were being depleted of their soil and their natural fruits. Annual floods swept through them at terrible cost to life and property. Erosion was unchecked upon the hillsides, and the swollen rivers carried thousands of tons of top soil down to the sea. The dams built by the TVA prevented flood damage, and also kept open navigable channels.

A comparatively small additional sum enabled the Authority to utilize the waters impounded behind the great dams for the generation of huge amounts of electric power. This power has been carried into the homes of farmers and provided amenities they never knew before; it furnishes cheap electricity to city dwellers; and in factories and industrial plants throughout the South it is contributing mightily to the war effort and bringing prosperity to the people.

From the very beginning, as soon as the TVA revealed the tremendous scope of its plans, the project excited the curiosity and admiration of engineers and scientists the world over. Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, eminent soil conservationist, scholar, and world traveler, was one who expressed his deep interest, and in 1938 the United States Department of Agriculture sent him to make a survey of the use of land in the Near East, in the interest of land conservation in the United States. Dr. Lowdermilk returned with a project for the reclamation of Palestine which he recently presented in book form under the title "Palestine, Land of Promise." He calls the project, which is modeled after the TVA, the Jordan Valley Authority. "The Tennessee Valley Authority," he says, "has set the pattern whereby agriculture, power, and manufacturing can be developed in a coordinated way in the highest interests of the people of a given area. And this pattern can be applied to Palestine."

Centuries ago Palestine was a prosperous country, covered with fertile fields and forests. Its fertility was destroyed by man's failure to conserve its natural resources. After Palestine was set aside as a Jewish homeland, it became a great experiment in reclamation. The Jews built cities and formed agricultural colonies and brought the soil back to abundant production. But the area of their efforts was necessarily limited, and vast stretches outside "the fertile crescent" lay untouched. "It is practically impossible," says Dr. Lowdermilk, "to estimate what the final absorptive capacity of Greater Palestine could be if all its unoccupied and underpopulated areas were rejuvenated by the same vigor and understanding love of the land as have characterized Jewish efforts on a tiny fraction of the land, and if such an all-inclusive reclamation program as that of the JVA were put into effect."

Dr. Lowdermilk advocates a system of dams on the Jordan River and its tributaries to irrigate the arid lands of the Jordan Valley. He points out, too, that in the rush of the river down to the Dead Sea, more than a thousand feet below sea level, there are wonderful possibilities for the generation of hydroelectric power. Enough electricity, he says, can be developed upon the Jordan River and its tributaries to supply the entire country with an abundance of electric power for all purposes. But power and irrigation are only part of Dr. Lowdermilk's project. Like the TVA, the JVA would include water conservation and flood control among its activities. Supplementing the work of the Jewish Agency and the government, it would reforest lands unsuitable for farming or grazing and would undertake to extract important minerals from the Dead Sea on a far greater scale than is now being done.

This work would be extended into the Negeb, the south country, which has an area almost equal to that of the rest of Palestine, and into Trans-Jordania, transforming these regions from desolate wastes into thriving agricultural and industrial communities. The Jews, says Dr. Lowdermilk, who has become a convert to the idea that Palestine can be developed by the Jews as a national homeland, would be made the "custodians" of this work and directors of the Jordan Valley Authority under the United Nations. "If the forces of reclamation and progress that Jewish settlers have introduced," he says, "are permitted to continue, Palestine may well be the leaven that will transform other lands of the Near East. Once the great undeveloped resources of the countries are properly exploited, twenty to thirty million people may

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live decent and prosperous lives where a few million now struggle for a bare existence. Palestine can serve as the example, the demonstration, the lever, that will lift the entire Near East from its present desolate condition to a dignified place in a free world."

Other reclamation projects patterned after the TVA have been proposed, though none have been so carefully worked out as Dr. Lowdermilk's. Some time ago the president of the National Association of Manufacturers declared that we were not fighting this war to supply Hottentot babies with milk or to build a TVA on the Danube. He spoke derisively, implying contempt for the idea of the TVA, but the expression "TVA on the Danube" took hold, and many thoughtful progressives began to wonder whether the idea was not a good one. If the TVA could be developed here without regard to state lines, why could not Europe, the Near East, or any other region develop a TVA without regard to national boundaries?

The economic backwardness of the eight countries which form the Danube basin—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece—does not derive from a lack of natural resources. The region has always had a great agricultural potential and rich mineral deposits, and in the Danube River it has a tremendous source of hydroelectric power. Its economic backwardness stems from a surplus farm population, causing overcrowding and a hunger for land, from neglect of scientific farming methods and a lack of working capital, and from the resulting low monetary yield. A program of industrialization such as a TVA on the Danube would make possible would absorb workers no longer needed on the farms and stimulate agricultural production. The political-economic structure of all these countries is based on the peasantry. Were the peasants granted the benefits which would flow from a great scientific project patterned after the TVA, who knows what the effect would be on the future peace of the world?

While the TVA idea reaches out to the Near East and Central Europe, opposition to it, strange as this may seem, is displayed in the land of its birth. This opposition comes primarily from the private power interests, properly known as the power trust, and is aroused by

Drawing by Stig Hook in the Swedish *Goteborgs Handels och Sjofarts Tidning*

"It's only the clock—five minutes to twelve."

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the generation and sale of hydroelectric power by the TVA. There would be little or no objection to the TVA if this aspect of the project had been turned over to private power interests. The power trust opposes the TVA because it interferes with its profits and with a monopolistic domination which extends over almost the entire United States.

The power trust has thrust a hand into every field of American politics. It is active in every election, whether it be that of a district school board, of members of Congress, or of a President of the United States. It has controlled and corrupted state legislatures the country over, and it has lobbied unceasingly for the passage of laws that would legalize its greedy claims and take from the people the control and management of the natural resources of their country.

Paradoxically, much of the opposition to the TVA has come from the South, which has derived the greatest benefit from its success. It is startling, indeed, that a Tennessee Senator is now fighting the completion of the TVA program, and with telling effect. I do not mean to charge that opponents of the TVA have always been moved by selfish considerations. Many opposition leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives have honestly believed that the national government should not go into the business of developing and transmitting electric power. But what other instrument would have been able to carry the project through? No state, no corporation organized by a state, could properly develop a system extending into many states. The only agency great enough to plan and implement such a development was either the national government itself or a corporation created by and representative of the national government. The government entered a field where no private corporation had ever ventured, where, from the very nature of things, no corporation could successfully venture.

The evil and dominating influence of the power trust made the TVA a necessity if we were to attain the happiness, comfort, and prosperity that can come from the preservation of our God-given gifts and from respect for the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. The forces which seek the TVA's destruction must not be allowed to halt the tide of progress.

Polish American Politics

BY ERIC ESTORICK

FATHER ORLEMANSKI is no longer a little-known leader of the Polish American opposition to the Polish government in exile. His interviews with Stalin have lifted him from obscurity into the limelight and entitled him to speak with authority of the Soviet government's intentions toward Poland. If the message he brings, on the strength of two private conversations with Stalin—that the Kremlin desires an independent Poland and looks with friendliness on the Catholic church—attains any considerable degree of acceptance among American Poles, the congress of Polish American organizations to be held in Buffalo over the Memorial Day week-end will be troubled with grave doubts about its position.

The conference purports to be a meeting of American citizens of Polish origin to discuss American foreign policy as it affects Poland. But it will be used to bring pressure on Washington to support the Polish government in exile and oppose the Soviets in the Polish-Russian boundary dispute. No organizations or individuals who do not support the Polish government in exile have been invited to attend.

The anti-Soviet feeling among Polish Americans which will be expressed by the congress has been fomented for years by certain Polish leaders in this country. Chief among these is Ignacy Matuszewski, a brilliant writer and skilful politician who was Minister of Finance under Pilsudski. When Premier Sikorski, first head of the Polish government in exile, announced a policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, Matuszewski launched a violent campaign against him in this country, using as his vehicles the principal Polish-language newspapers published here—among them, the *Nowy Swiat* of New York, the *Dziennik Polski* of Detroit, and the *Dziennik Dla Wszystkick* of Buffalo.

At first Matuszewski's flood of invective seemed to win little response. On the whole the Polish population here trusted Sikorski and respected his admonition—stated explicitly during his second visit to the United States in March, 1942—that the raising of issues with the U. S. S. R., especially the boundary question, should be avoided. However, by the time Sikorski arrived in the United States for his third visit in December, 1942, Matuszewski's counter-movement had definitely set in and Sikorski found himself on the defensive respecting Russia. Opposition had also developed in London, where anti-Russian campaigns were being carried on by Tadeusz Bielecki, an extreme rightist, in the monthly *Mysl Polska*, and by Stanislaw Mackewicz, formerly an editor in Vilna, who also contributed to the New York *Nowy Swiat*.

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The death of Sikorski enabled the ultra-nationalists to gain dominance in the Polish government in exile; except for a few Socialists in the Cabinet, notably the Minister of Labor, Dr. Stanczyk, there was no one to raise an effective voice for a rapprochement with the Russians. Matuszewski, thereupon, ceased his attacks on the government, while continuing his denunciations of Soviet Russia. But long before this his fascist predilections had been apparent. I have in my possession photostatic copies of documents concerning him written in longhand by the Polish ambassador to the United States, Jan Ciechanowski, and his press attaché, Wladislaw Besterman, approximately two years ago, when General Sikorski was still alive. These documents declare that after Poland's defeat in September, 1939, Matuszewski "hoped to become a minister in the new Polish government but was so involved with the former regime and had been so close to fascist ideas that he could not be fitted into a government of national unity representative of all democratic parties. His rabid opposition to General Sikorski and his government then began."

Matuszewski and his group, according to Besterman, "definitely interfered in American affairs and disrupted American unity," tended to destroy Polish unity and to injure United Nations solidarity, showed "distinct fascist ideology," and "by publishing Hungarian anti-Czech newspapers worked for the disruption of Polish-Czech relations at a time when Poland and Czechoslovakia, after years of unpleasantness, had declared for confederation." According to the Polish ambassador, Matuszewski "financed between 1937 and 1939 the only openly fascist newspaper in Poland, the *Jetro Polska.*"

For the last two years Matuszewski has been carrying on an unrelenting campaign not only against the Soviet government's course with respect to Poland but against all Russian culture. In direct opposition to official efforts by the United States to consolidate relations with the Soviets, the Polish press, for which he provides intellectual leadership, has proclaimed that collaboration is impossible, that the Russians are not Slavs but Mongols, and that Stalin intends to become the Red Czar of Europe. Matuszewski even went so far as to say in the pages of *Nowy Swiat* that, as a result of the alliance between Poland and Great Britain, in legal right a state of war now exists between Great Britain and Russia.

Recently Matuszewski addressed seven articles to American Poles under the sly title "Your Sweat." Pegged on lend-lease, the argument ran thus: Four per cent of lend-lease to Russia is the work of American Poles; Russia is set to destroy Poland; therefore American Poles on the production lines work and sweat only to enslave their relatives and destroy their homeland. Making use of Under Secretary of State Stettinius's book, "Lend-Lease—Weapon for Victory," Matuszewski asks American Poles if they are not forging a "weapon for defeat." He also asserts that President Roosevelt, in giving priority to the defeat of Germany and in making initial lend-lease shipments to Russia, "subordinated the needs of the country to the needs of a foreign nation."

Nor does he stop with Russia. He inveighs even against the British and of course against the Czechs and Benes. At the same time he enlists American Ukrainians and Lithuanians in the so-called common cause and throws out negative suggestions that the Germans, by comparison with the Russians, may not be so bad after all.

Matuszewski and M. F. Wegrznek, who is the publisher of *Nowy Swiat* and owner of *Amerikai Magyar Nepszaram,* a pro-Horthy Hungarian daily published in New York, founded the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent (KNAPP) primarily as an instrument to embarrass the Sikorski regime. After Sikorski's death KNAPP succeeded in enlisting the support of many conservative and liberal elements in the Polish American community. Perhaps the most prominent was K. Rozmarek, who as president of the Polish National Alliance had originally supported Sikorski. The KNAPP was the chief group behind the call for the Buffalo congress.

A Chicago meeting which planned the congress declared that its object was to support the war against the enemies of democracy opposed to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, to work for the achievement of a just peace, and to help Poland, as represented by its legitimate government in London, safeguard the frontiers which are threatened today. It has been announced that the congress is to result in the creation of a central organization representing all American Poles—apparently American Poles not supporting the Polish government in exile will lose their status as American Poles!

The purpose of the congress was further elaborated by Mr. Rozmarek in a speech quoted by the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* of March 9. All American Poles, he said, are unanimous in defense of Poland's claims, and the congress is to express that unanimity. In doing so it will try to bolster the claim of the London government to be the true representative of, and indeed the only spokesman for, the Poles now under German domination. Critics of the government in exile assert that there is no substantial evidence that the Poles beleaguered in their homeland look to London for their leadership.

Since the congress is timed to coincide with the deeper penetration of Russian forces into Poland and the possible opening of a second front, and will shortly precede the Democratic and Republican national conventions, it is clear that the main purpose of its sponsors is to stage a demonstration in support of the Polish government at a moment when that government may be confronted with a severe crisis. The planned appeal to Americans of non-Polish descent indicates that the congress will try to mobilize all public opinion in this country against

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Soviet Russia. It will directly propagandize other foreign elements dissatisfied with our present foreign policy—Hungarians, Slovak separatists, Croatian separatists, Serbian royalists, Finns, and Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nationalists. The political intent of this propaganda is seen in a statement by Frank Januszewski, treasurer of KNAPP and publisher of the *Dziennik Polski*. The votes of Poles, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, and Finns, he said, "will be directed against the Administration which sold these European countries to Soviet Russia."

Matuszewski, Wegrznek, and Januszewski, together with their allies in London, were specifically mentioned by the Russians as principal agents in building up the exasperation which finally led the Soviet government to break off relations with the Polish government on April 25, 1943. For a long time their inflammatory and subversive campaign aroused no adequate protest from Polish Americans or from others who knew of it. (Matuszewski, however, was obliged to register with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent.) Finally, the American Polish Labor Council; the Kosciusko League, led by Father Orlemanski; Professor Oscar Lange of the University of Chicago, a well-known Polish American Socialist; Dean Frank X. Swietlik of Marquette University, and a few other individuals realized that something must be done. They knew that some three million Poles were concentrated in key war cities—Chicago, Buffalo, New York—and working in essential war industries. They knew that these Polish workers had considerable influence with other Slavs in America, who constitute, it has been estimated, 50 per cent of the men employed in heavy industry. They saw that Matuszewski's campaign against Soviet Russia struck at the heart of America at war and must be offset; according to Leo Krzycki, president of the American Polish Labor Council and vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the effect upon Polish labor has been marked; discontent and unrest have led to serious slowdowns.

The most important action taken so far to counteract the totalitarian tactics of the machine working for the Polish government in exile has been the much-publicized trip to Moscow of Father Orlemanski and Professor Lange. The KNAPP has tried to convince people that both men are anti-Christians, Communists, and stooges of the Kremlin, but there is evidence that the rank and file of American Polish workers, practically all of whom are trade unionists, do not accept the Matuszewski line. The Kosciusko League desires an independent Poland, respecting the legitimate claims of Ukrainians and White Russians, and does not regard the 1939 Polish-Russian boundary as inviolable. The number of workers who have recently joined the league certainly contradicts the claims of the congress to represent all Americans of Polish descent.

In the Wind

SOUTHERN POLICE DEPARTMENTS, unlike the Boston department, do not take upon themselves the responsibilities of literary criticism. Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit" is having good sales all over the South. The reviews in Southern newspapers have been almost 100 per cent favorable.

FIGURES COMPILED BY the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor show that high-school enrolment has dropped 14 per cent since the war began.

FROM A COLUMN OF BOATING GOSSIP in *Motor Boat*: "Leathem D. Smith, boat and shipbuilder of Sturgeon Bay, Wis., has tossed his bonnet into the ring with a bid for the Senatorial nomination from his state. . . . Two things stand out in regard to Mr. Smith no matter what other matters can be brought to bear for, or against him. One is that he is opposing the present Administration, and the second is that he is a practical boating man. Even if we discover that he beat his aged mother and kicked puppy dogs we would still be for him on the strength of the other two points." The grammar is *Motor Boat's*, not *The Nation's*.

A LONDON AIR-RAID WARDEN, surveying a recent night's bomb damage, was surprised to hear organ music—Handel—issuing from the smoldering ruins of a large church. He entered the building cautiously and found the organist playing in a cloud of dust, with water pouring down on him from above. The organist looked around and explained that this was the only way he could get the water out of the pipes. He was playing Handel's Water Music.

BRITISH THEATRICAL PRODUCERS are having a hard time these days finding young girls for their choruses. Before the war most chorus girls were from eighteen to twenty-four years old; now they are twenty-four and up. The others are doing war work.

INCENDIARIES NOW AVERAGE 60 per cent of all American bomb loads.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The course of the war can be discerned in the changing Nazi propaganda slogans used in Norway: 1940, "We have won!" 1941, "We shall win!" 1942, "We must win!" 1943, "We will never capitulate!" 1944, "Toward brighter times!" . . . Viennese wits are circulating a new definition of high treason: "To remember a speech of the Führer for more than three months." . . . From a recent broadcast by General Kurt Dittmar, radio voice of the German army: "If one speaks of *Festung Europa*, it is only in a figurative sense."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The Tasks Ahead in France

BY JULES MOCH

BOTH the French Committee of National Liberation and the Consultative Assembly in Algiers are studying the problems of economic reconstruction that will face the government of liberated France. Eventually the entire economy of the country, as indeed of all Europe, must be rebuilt, but the two most pressing needs will be to resettle the millions who have been driven from their homes or deported and to provide food for the starving people.

The population of metropolitan France before the war was about 40,000,000. Of this number one in seven has been uprooted; one in ten has been deported to Germany. According to reliable statistics, 850,000 Frenchmen are still held as prisoners of war—four years after the capitulation at Bordeaux, which was supposed to assure their speedy repatriation. Another 350,000 ex-soldiers have been impressed into the service of the enemy as laborers, and 900,000 French workers have been deported to Germany as "volunteers" or under the man-power levy. Some 60,000 more men and women, classified as Jews or resistants, have been removed from the country to an unknown fate. Men of Alsace and Lorraine to the number of 180,000 have been drafted into the German army as German subjects and sent to the eastern front. Finally, many thousands of patriots have fled to Africa or England, either to escape persecution or to serve with the Fighting French forces. In all, therefore, nearly 3,500,000 Frenchmen must be repatriated.

But even this figure does not tell the whole story. More than 1,500,000 people have had to leave their homes in the border regions and go to central and southern France. At least 50,000 were evacuated from the frontier zone by the French government in 1939, 180,000 refugees from the battle areas joined them, and 80,000 residents of Alsace and Lorraine were transferred to the interior by the Germans. Another million were recently ordered out of the coastal region by the German High Command, and the number grows daily. Some 100,000 men have been forcibly enrolled in the so-called Todt organization and sent to work on fortifications, and at least another 100,000 young Frenchmen have taken to the *maquis*. In one way or another, then, more than 5,000,000 people have been uprooted in France alone.

These millions must be returned to their homes, and at the same time almost a million foreigners now living in France must be sent back where they came from. At least 500,000 Germans have "colonized" the frontier departments, to escape the bombings at home and to "justify" the annexations proclaimed by Hitler; others are scattered through the rest of the country. Also, between 1940 and 1943 some 150,000 Italians settled in Savoy and the other provinces claimed by Mussolini.

Similar mass deportations and migrations have occurred in Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia. If we add the slave laborers brought to Germany from the Axis satellites and the prisoners taken in Russia, we get a total of probably 30,000,000 people who must be moved—east, west, north, south—across Europe.

How is this to be done; how organize the transportation of these millions of men, whose only desire will be to flee headlong from the hell in which they have been living? None will want to wait, not for a day. From all the camps and factories of Germany long lines of haggard men will start toward the frontiers of their homelands. How will they live on their weary march? The first punishment of Hitler's Germany will come from the columns of deportees turned conquerors.

At the frontiers or in occupied territory close to the frontiers it will be necessary to establish temporary rehabilitation centers for feeding, clothing, and supplying medical care to the returning men. Barracks will be required to shelter them. Bureaus will have to be set up to help them find their families; for the families themselves in many cases will have been evacuated from their old homes. The returning men will not tolerate red tape and delay. But the Algiers government has not even a complete record of the German camps and factories where Frenchmen are held and therefore cannot tell at what points along the frontier the columns will converge.

In order to be prepared to cope with the whole repatriation problem the French Committee of National Liberation has set up a special ministry to study it—the Commissariat for Prisoners and Deportees—and has named M. Fresnay, leader of one of the strongest resistance groups in France, as its head.

The other most urgent task before us—providing food for the French people—presents equally staggering difficulties. The returning French will find a country stripped bare of food. Stockpiles have long since disappeared. There will be no wheat unless the liberating forces reach the productive regions at or before harvest time; no wine unless the landing is made in the south. Most if not all

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Down with Badoglio!

The anti-Fascist militants who still live in an atmosphere of battle in northern Italy cannot forget that Badoglio was the general of the Ethiopian campaign, the attack on France, and the ruinous acquiescence in the German occupation in September, 1943. Although today the Allies consider him the most suitable collaborator, and the anti-Fascist parties, who cannot estrange themselves from what goes on in Italy, agree to work with him, militant patriots who offer their lives for their country cannot forget his misdeeds.—From a Milan dispatch in the Swiss paper *Libera Stampa.*

of the livestock has already been seized by the enemy. There will be no fats, oil, or soap. Transportation will be hopelessly disorganized.

It is clear, therefore, that the food requirements of a large percentage of the population will have to be brought in from abroad. What will this mean? Suppose for the moment that food from outside will be needed for only one-seventh of the population. Even that would call for a million tons a month, the cargo of a hundred Liberty ships. Powerful Allied organizations will help, to be sure. The U. N. R. R. A. has been set up for the purpose. The Allies are building up stockpiles of food. A French minister, M. Monnet, has been assigned to work in the United States with American officials. But the U. N. R. R. A. will not establish itself in any area until the Allied army holds the upper hand there. And if the Germans put up a desperate resistance on our soil or at the frontier, ships needed to bring in civilian supplies will be diverted to military demands. Allied trucks moving from the ports to the interior will carry ammunition, not bread.

The Algiers committee, therefore, wishes to have its own stockpiles and shipping with which to supply the French people. It wants to form stockpiles as near as possible to France—in Corsica, Algeria, England—and to acquire ships, however small their tonnage, which will be able to make frequent trips along the French coast carrying food, clothing, and medical supplies. Efforts in this direction have thus far had little success. The committee has been able to build up some reserves of fats in Senegal, of olive oil in Tunisia, of sugar in Réunion. But it has no ships. For those which slipped out of German-held France or were seized by the Allies in Allied ports or North Africa have been placed in an inter-Allied pool and are carrying munitions to Italy or troops to Great Britain. Even the little wheat reserve built up by the French in Algeria for aid to France was sent to Italy to feed the starving civilians there.

The French people inside France who consider the Algiers government their government expect it to look out for them. If the National Committee accepts this responsibility, it must have the material means of fulfilling its obligations. We have seen that the scant resources of the National Committee, as in the case of the merchant marine and the wheat stock, may be diverted to military needs in the common interest of the United Nations. France will need much help from the Allies, but what it receives will have been partially paid for in advance by the diversion of the French fleet and of French colonial products.

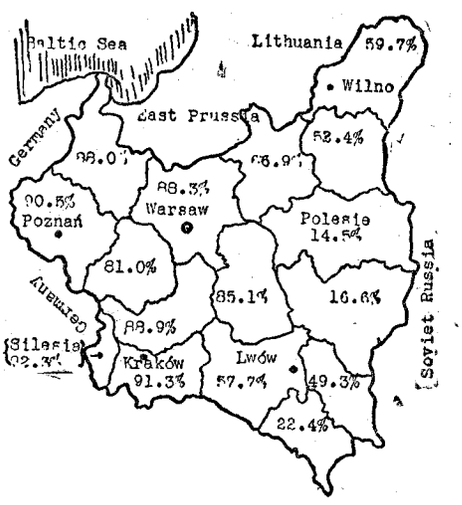
Aid to France should not be administered for any long period by the Allied armies or the U. N. R. R. A. The French merchant marine should be assigned the task of transporting foodstuffs; the colonies and overseas France should grow what cannot be raised at home. Allied aid must be immediate, but it need be only temporary.

[*In a second article M. Moch will discuss the problems of employment and industrial reconstruction that the French government will face.*]

Poland's Frontier Claims

BY JERZY NEYMAN

SINCE the dispute about the future Polish-Russian frontier is still in progress, *Nation* readers may be interested in some relevant documentary material taken from the "Statistical Yearbook" issued by the Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Poland. The map reproduced here is from the 1939 edition of the "Yearbook." It shows the sixteen administrative districts, or voievodships, into which Poland was divided. The figures on the map give the percentage of the population of each district whose mother tongue was Polish as declared in the general census of 1931. Published by a Polish government agency before the war, these figures can hardly be suspected of misrepresenting the situation in the interest of a foreign power. They may be presumed rather to exaggerate the number of Poles in the eastern and southern districts, since the non-Polish population there was notoriously subject to persecution and the admission that one's mother tongue was not Polish required a certain amount of courage. It will be seen



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that in the three districts in the southeastern corner of Poland the percentage of people speaking Polish at home is less than 50 per cent. In two others on the eastern border the percentages are only 16.6 and 14.5.

On the other hand, in the districts adjoining Germany, including the "corridor," the density of Polish-speaking people is very high. The percentages are the more remarkable because the pro-German policy of the government at that time relieved the German inhabitants of any compulsion to pose as Poles.

Cultural affiliations are frequently mentioned in the dispute over the eastern provinces, and I believe that the cultural unity or lack of unity of border provinces is a valid argument for territorial adjustments between neighboring countries. No cultural ties exist between the Poles and the inhabitants of the eastern border region of pre-war Poland. Moreover, no serious efforts were ever made by the government to develop such ties. On the contrary, the eastern provinces were treated largely as colonies; schools were few and unsatisfactory, and no improvement of living conditions was attempted. This policy resulted in appalling illiteracy among the population, in poverty and filth in the villages, revolts and assassinations in the cities.

One must conclude that Polish claims in the west are better justified than those in the east.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ALL newspapers in the Königsberg district carried on April 20 the following announcement by the head of the criminal police (*Kriminalpolizeileitstelle*):

> It has been repeatedly noticed of late that people who want to go into hiding temporarily or indefinitely find asylum in private homes and thus evade police control. Tenants of private apartments who furnish lodgings to strangers without immediately registering them with the police as required by the Reich Registration Act incur the risk of severe punishment, since persons who do not wish to be registered are often criminals wanted by the police. Tenants found guilty of an offense against the above act will moreover be subjected to permanent police supervision.

This column has frequently spoken of the growing number of Germans who "disappear" and afterward live in hiding, officially non-existent and hence without official income or ration cards. The warning by the Königsberg police is one more sign that a *maquis* flourishes also in Germany.

To a greater or less degree all countries at war are acquainted with the phenomenon of black markets for certain commodities. Germany even has a black market now in services. This has arisen as a result of the attempt of the Nazi authorities to ration the work of the few artisans who are left. Direct contracting between artisans and the public is being forbidden in one city after another. People who want any kind of repairs made must apply to an official agency, which will investigate their necessity and then give out the job. In consequence mechanics are taking black-market work in their free time—especially after air raids. It is reported that they do not charge more money for this forbidden and risky work but ask instead to be paid in goods. The customary rates for certain jobs are given in the Stockholm *Arbetaren* for April 15. For repairing a roof, for example, the charge is a dozen eggs or a pound of butter; for putting new glass in a window, two pounds of meat or twenty cigarettes; for repairing a slightly damaged wall, one medium-sized sausage.

Private housekeeping is dying out in Germany and is being replaced by communal meals. A dispatch from Berlin published in the Swedish paper *Vestmanlands Laens Tidning* of April 28 says that at least 26,000,000 people eat their principal meal or all their meals in some 25,000 communal dining-halls, camp kitchens, factory canteens, and the like. They have to give ration points for these meals, but they are spared the immense difficulties and loss of time connected with marketing.

Yet the public kitchens themselves do not always function smoothly. The failure of the potato crop, in particular, was a calamity for them as for private housekeepers. In the late summer of 1943 these kitchens, like every family in the country, were asked to lay in a supply of potatoes which, reckoned very exactly, so many per person, would last until April 30, 1944. During the winter, however, the shortage was discovered to be much greater than had been anticipated, and a new decree declared that stocks must be made to last three months longer, until July 31. The public kitchens have addressed earnest appeals to the authorities for a supplementary allotment, but the Reich Food Ministry recently refused once and for all to grant them any relief. The *Völkischer Beobachter* for April 24 commented on this decision as follows: "Those who have prematurely consumed the potatoes allotted to them have no claim to new supplies. The decree, therefore, denies all applications made by communal kitchens, factory canteens, and the like." An ingenious way out of the difficulty—for the kitchens—was suggested. "We have been informed," the *Beobachter* said, that "the arrangement by which employees bring their own potatoes to factory canteens has worked out very well." In other words, the unhappy individual is again asked to shoulder the burden. The public kitchens were organized to relieve people of marketing cares. Now the kitchens say, "You get the food and we will cook it for you."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Great Books and Scientific Method

PAIDEIA: THE IDEALS OF GREEK CULTURE. Volumes II and III. By Werner Jaeger. Translated by Gilbert Highet. Oxford University Press. $3.75 Each; Three Volumes, $10.

AS A manifestation of post-war planning, educational controversy at the moment is at a peak of intensity which has not been equaled since the years following World War I. Since this controversy often takes the form of a dog fight between the partisans of the Great Books and the partisans of Scientific Method, it is valuable to have an authoritative account of the educational enterprise of the Greeks, who both invented Scientific Method and wrote a good share of the Great Books. They were also the people who, as Professor Jaeger argues, most persistently related all of their activities, from the moment when they began to be articulate, to the central aim of creating a higher type of human nature. This aim, inadequately expressed either by our word education or by our word culture, or by the two in combination, gave content to the term *paideia.* Its original meaning of child-rearing was expanded to designate the whole effort to shape the life of man, individual and social, from eugenic selection and pre-natal care to the guidance of the adult by politics, art, and religion; and it was conceived as the responsibility not of a few professional educators but of the entire community.

There is a recurrent disposition, shown particularly today by some of the proponents of the Great Books, to take the ideas of the Greeks as timeless verities which can be studied outside of their historical context. Although this approach is not without a measure of justification as a reaction against that type of historicism which is concerned with the conditions under which ideas occur, to the exclusion of questions of their truth or falsity and hence of their application, such is not Jaeger's procedure. If the Greeks sought an educational ideal that would be universally valid, this was not in fact, he insists, "an empty abstract pattern, existing outside time and space. It was the living ideal which had grown up in the very soil of Greece, and changed with the changing fortunes of the race, assimilating every stage of its historical development." The historical approach can be, and too often has been in our educational institutions during the past century, a vast quicksand which swallows up the very urge of *paideia* itself—the urge to turn all knowledge to the delight and ennoblement of man. But before ideas can be applied they must be understood, and this can occur only with some perception of the problems they were intended to solve and of their consequences in action. It would seem to follow for our own educational effort that the historical approach is neither something to be avoided nor a resting place, but something to be worked through. In practice, this might mean that our students would profit less from the inclusion in the curriculum of twenty Greek classics than from reading seventeen of them together with three volumes like those of Jaeger's, or ten classics plus "Paideia" plus seven books, not all of them necessarily destined for immortality, about analogous problems of our own culture. The students would then be better fitted, and perhaps also more eager, to go on and read the remaining classics for themselves.

The first volume of "Paideia," which appeared in German in 1933 and in Gilbert Highet's excellent translation six years later, traced the development of Greek education to the end of the fifth century. During this period it was largely the poets who were the acknowledged educators of mankind, and Solon and a few others were its legislators as well. The aristocratic ethos found its first clear image in Homer, and its first great critic in Hesiod, who with his advocacy of social justice played something of the same role for the Greek moral consciousness as the prophets for the Hebraic. With Tyrtaeus and Solon, Sparta and Athens began to define their respective national ideals. If such poets as Pindar and Theognis were reactionaries yearning for the restoration of aristocratic society, they succeeded in educating the new middle classes in some of the heroic virtues. It was the Ionian and Aeolian poets, and later Euripides, who gave expression to the rising individualism and made the Greeks aware of the nuances of personal emotion and the inner life. Aeschylus adapted myth to the presentation of the religious, ethical, and social preoccupations of the Periclean Age, and Sophocles turned it to the acquisition of self-knowledge. With Aristophanes the comic mask expressed an educational energy which turned its searchlight of criticism on matters topical and perennial.

Volumes II and III deal with the maturity of Greek educational thought in the age of Plato, and bring Jaeger's project to a conclusion, since he holds that the fundamental ideas had all been stated by this time, and that the Hellenistic age, of which he conceives Aristotle to have been the chief spokesman, did little more than elaborate tendencies already at work, and showed a decline in the intensity of the ideals themselves. Even before the fourth century the Sophists and Thucydides had attempted to develop the insights of the poets into a theory of *paideia.* From then on the ideals of Greek culture were articulated chiefly by prose writers—the philosophers, scientists, and rhetoricians.

Although the Sophists first spread the idea that virtue should be founded on knowledge, Socrates and his followers insisted that the core of this knowledge should be ethical wisdom, and that "care of the soul"—which Socrates understood primarily in humanistic rather than supernatural terms —was the most important business in life. In commenting on the two chief schools of thought about Socrates, Jaeger supports the moderate thesis that Socrates was neither a mere speculative philosopher nor a mere hero of the moral life, but that his person "united the contradictions which even then or soon after his death fell apart." These com-

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ponents of the Socratic *paideia* continued, however, to be held in solution by Plato, who not only founded the first university and made the first plea for state-supported education in Athens but wrote his dialogues in pedagogical form and devoted his two greatest works, the "Republic" and the "Laws," to the development of an educational system. The "Laws," the work of Plato's old age, tried to construct in detail a life-long educational program for every member of the community, while it reserved the more exacting training for an aristocracy of ability.

Although the larger part of the new volumes is devoted to an exposition of Plato, Jaeger also treats fully the rhetoricians Isocrates and Demosthenes, who as the first great publicists took as their aim the political education of the adult community, and he includes a study of Greek medicine, which was the first science to use precise methods of empirical observation and which, in accordance with the Greek emphasis on the harmony of soul and body, was conceived not as an esoteric specialty but as a part of general culture, prescribing for the individual a regimen that was preventive as well as curative. Particularly valuable is Jaeger's discussion of his thesis that the physicians' conception of a single "form" of disease underlying the multiplicity of symptoms was a shaping influence on the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, and of equal importance with mathematics as a key to the understanding of that doctrine.

Jaeger is committed to writing "objective" history in one of the better senses of that term, and he does not, like many classical scholars, draw easy and oversimplified parallels between ancient times and our own. Yet the problems of the Greek city-states in the fourth century have so many points of contact with those of our civilization today that more than an antiquarian interest attaches to his treatment of the struggle between Athenian democracy and Spartan totalitarianism—where he argues that the "Spartanizing" tendencies of Plato have been vastly exaggerated by his interpreters—and of the failure of the Greek educational effort to meet the demands of democracy and internationalism.

The scope of "Paideia" is so wide that criticism of it for incompleteness may seem ungrateful. Yet it does neglect some important factors in the development of Greek ideals about which we should like to be informed. Greek literature is examined almost entirely for the ideas it contains, and for its moral meanings in a narrow, if not the narrowest, sense. There is almost no discussion of its aesthetic qualities, or of the cultural influence of the non-literary arts. Although more space is devoted to the scientists than one customarily expects from a humanistic scholar, Plato's proclamation of the ideal of formal or deductive science in Book VI of the "Republic" is treated superficially, and the "critical" dialogues in which he developed his methodology and his theories of knowledge and reality are ignored entirely. Such matters were considered by Plato to be absolutely central to his educational program; they had a profound influence on the world view of the Renaissance; and, as Whitehead among others has argued, they have come to full fruition only in the logical and metaphysical researches of our own time. The political aspects of Greek *paideia* are treated in much closer connection with economic and

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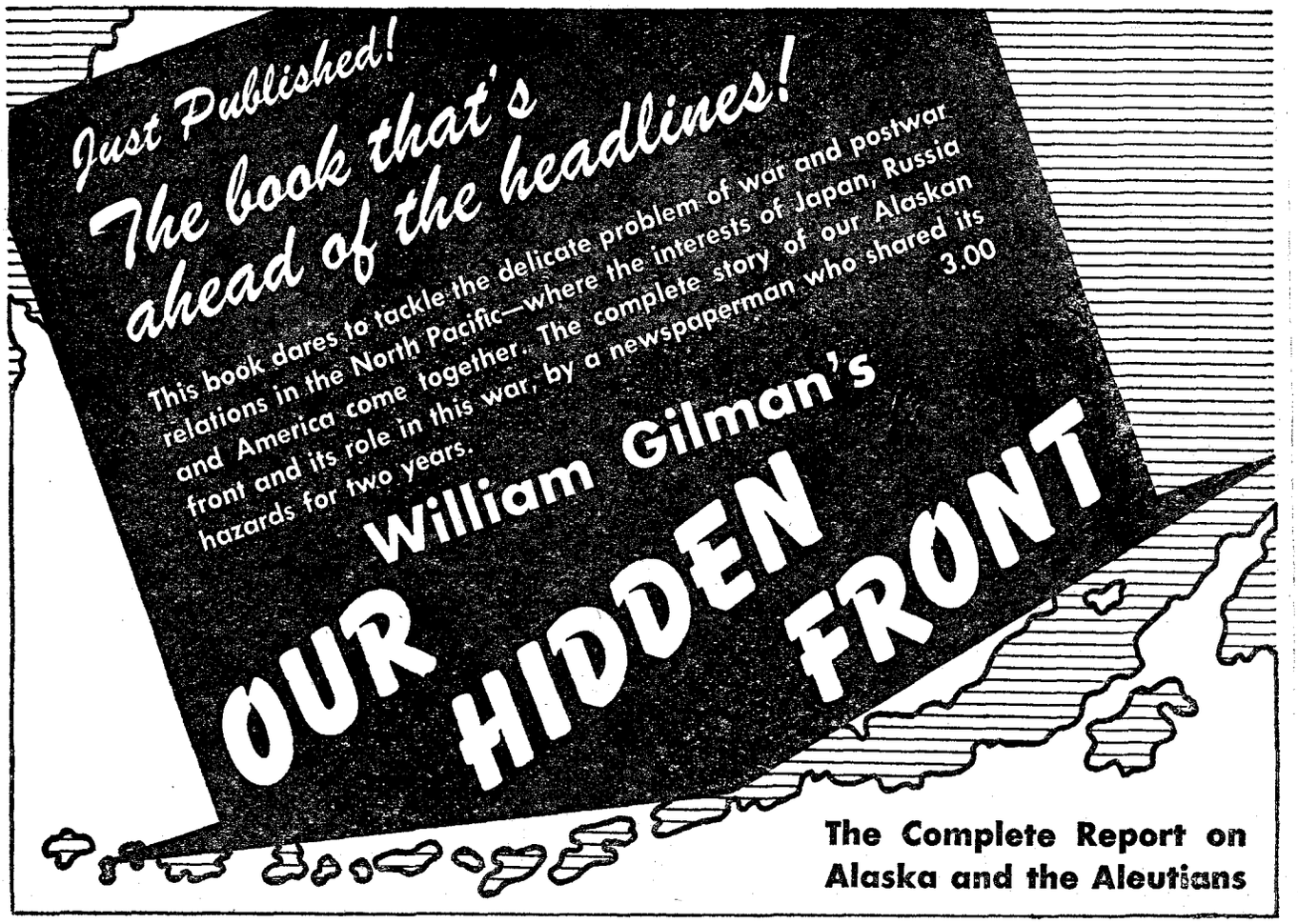
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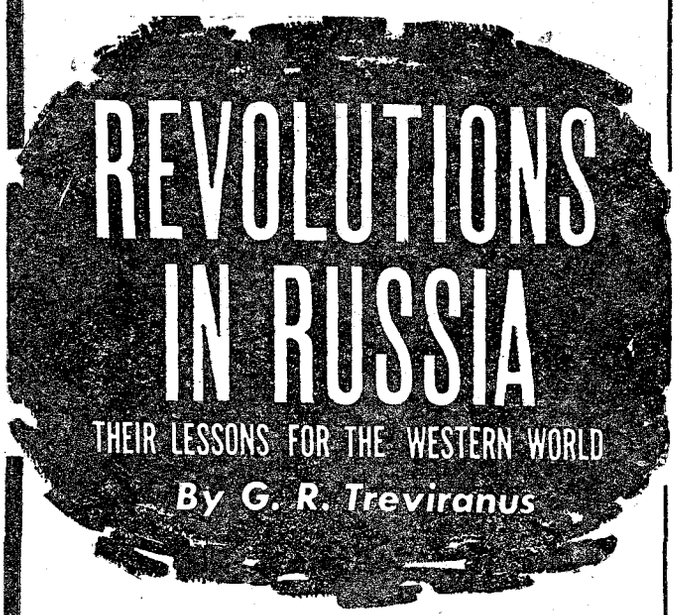

From 1919 to 1932 the author was a member of the German Reichstag and for two years was a member of the Bruening Cabinet, which put him in close touch with the relations of the German Republic to Russia.

Why is Russia's history pock-marked with revolutions like a periodic red rash? What yeast springing out of the life on the soil has been and still is fermenting the peasants to formidable resistance to change and to authority? Why are up-risings endemic in this strange land and the key to its destiny? In this book's answers to these questions is genuine and full understanding of our ally.

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social factors in the first volume than in the subsequent ones. But all these are points on which Jaeger can be supplemented by other writers, and they will not prevent "Paideia" from standing with such works as Zimmern's "Greek Commonwealth," Murray's "Five Stages of Greek Religion," and Bowra's "Greek Lyric Poetry" among the books which most successfully make Greek life and thought accessible to moderns.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Twice-Told Tales

TELL THE FOLKS BACK HOME. By Senator James M. Mead. D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.

THEN THERE WAS ONE: THE U.S.S. ENTERPRISE AND THE FIRST YEAR OF WAR. By Eugene Burns. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THIS reviewer knows an able war correspondent who returned from the front and rejected offers to write a war book on the ground that he didn't have anything much to say that hadn't already been said. He is a rare character. The fact is that there is a spate of overlapping war books which must be as tedious to the public as to the reviewers. Much good white paper could be saved if war authors read one another's works or if publishers were vigilant editors. Many of the current war books might turn out to make good Talk of the Town pieces for the *New Yorker.*

It is regrettable to have to cite as a prize example of repetition Senator Mead's account of his trip around the world's battlefronts with four other Senators. Surely he must have learned more on that journey than he tells in the book, for he could have learned almost everything he tells by staying home and reading books written previously. For instance, it is galling to come once again across the crack which the Aussie made to the Yank about his being a fugitive from Pearl Harbor; this was mildly amusing when John Lardner recounted it more than a year ago, but the mirth has long since been drained out by subsequent retelling. It is wearisome, too, to learn again that the Arabs smell bad; to be told how funny it is to have two Mondays when crossing the international date line; or how odd the New Guinea natives look after chewing betel nuts. Senator Mead even follows the Gunther-Reynolds tradition of telling what he ate here and there around the world—information of little interest to any stomach but his own.

To be sure, there are patches in Senator Mead's book which contain fresh, interesting information—notably his vivid account of the famine conditions in Calcutta. On the whole, however, his work can be recommended most enthusiastically to those who have read no other war book, and then only if the prospective readers don't mind the Senator's style of dictation, which betrays his fondness for *Time.*

In "Then There Was One," Eugene Burns has written an able, if not very distinguished, history of the aircraft carrier Enterprise from Pearl Harbor through Midway and the Solomons up to June, 1943. This particular kind of reporting job has not been done before. Nevertheless, it is just Mr. Burns's hard luck that the public already has heard about aircraft carriers in "Queen of the Flattops," "Torpedo 8," and sections of several other works.

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The two books here mentioned just happen to furnish the text for this crotchety sermon. There are all too many which are worse. Would it be too much to hope that publishers gradually will become more hesitant about printing war books unless they contain a generous amount of new information or a fresh interpretation of human behavior in the midst of cataclysm? MARCUS DUFFIELD

Our Foreign Policy

A MODERN FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. By Joseph Jones. The Macmillan Company. $1.35.

THIS book, consisting of three articles from *Fortune* and a brief postscript, reviews the well-known weaknesses of the United States State Department and emphasizes the urgency of reforms. America must accept more responsibility, says Mr. Jones, for the world's peace and prosperity. To this end, he continues, "it is imperative that we develop a new responsibility in the conduct of 'foreign affairs' (a) of the Executive toward the Congress and the people, (b) of the Congress toward the Executive and the people, (c) of the people toward the Congress and the Executive, and (d) of this government toward foreign governments."

Mr. Jones, unfortunately, seems more excited about *a* and *d* than about *b* and *c*. The latter are fully as important. And it is especially imperative now that the Administration's opponents, in Congress and on the campaign rostrums, accept their share of responsibility. The doubletalk of the men now most prominent in the Republican Party is even more shocking than the failures of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull.

Quite rightly, Mr. Jones observes that "as national sovereignty crumbles, vast areas of national affairs automatically become international affairs." He seems more impatient, however, with those leaders who have shown some awareness of this than with those who have shown virtually none. VOLTA TORREY

The Elizabethan View

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD PICTURE. By E. M. W. Tillyard. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

THE commonplace notions and basic assumptions of an age, those elements which determine the form of a literature as well as of a society, are difficult to isolate since they are seldom explicitly stated in writing that endures. Dr. Tillyard's method is to examine the ordinary beliefs forming the Elizabethan's world picture. Through an analysis of the manifold relationships between the various components of the Elizabethan "chain of being," from God and the celestial orders to the natural forces, man, and the animal and plant worlds, and through an exposition of the complex correspondences, physical, ethical, philosophical, deriving from them, Dr. Tillyard finds that the Elizabethan notion of the cosmos was still solidly theocentric. It was a simplified version of the hierarchical order of the Middle Ages. Although the main outline of the medieval pattern still held firm, the details underwent an "agile transition

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H. P. LAZARUS

Fiction in Review

AFTER finishing Anna Seghers's new novel, "Transit" (Little, Brown, $2.50), I thought I had better read "The Seventh Cross," Miss Seghers's previous novel which was so well received when it appeared in 1942. It seemed to me impossible that a book of the quality of "Transit" could have followed a book worthy of the critical acclaim that greeted the earlier novel. Either Miss Seghers's abilities had considerably diminished between books or "The Seventh Cross" had been considerably misjudged.

But it turns out that neither of these conjectures was entirely correct; or rather that both are in some part correct. "The Seventh Cross" is certainly a better book than "Transit"; yet the connection between them is not too remote. And "The Seventh Cross" was, I think, overpraised, but not un-understandably; perhaps I too would have been more impressed by it if I had read it before instead of after "Transit."

With "Transit" in mind, however, Miss Seghers's earlier novel strikes me as one of those novels which flowered because the soil in which it was planted was so richly prepared. We all like nothing better than to witness a defeat of Nazism, and Miss Seghers's intensely dramatic narrative of an escape from a concentration camp excited all our ready and strong emotions. Because in his flight the hero of "The Seventh Cross" moves through a varied landscape and touches many people's lives, we were quick to translate what is only a varied experience of suspense into a deep and various human experience. Because Miss Seghers's courageous hero pits himself alone against large hostile forces, we accepted the illusion that the author was herself grappling with large literary materials. But actually "The Seventh Cross" is only an adventure story on an unusually high level, and it occurs to me that if we were to change the political allegiance of its hero—as, say, in the movie "The Invaders"—the story would be equally exciting, although there would then be no temptation to read into it artistic significances beyond those it really achieves. What I mean is that from a literary point of view "The Seventh Cross" very much trades on the advantage of our political sympathies.

Of course this is no a priori fault in a novel; it is simply something we must take into account in judging it. And similarly we must take into account the possible disadvantage of writing to an already prepared audience. In "Transit" Miss Seghers suffers from being out of line with our established feelings. She is writing about refugees; and precisely in the degree that we have strong emotions against Nazism, most of us have strong emotions of sympathy toward the people whom Nazism has made homeless wanderers. But Miss Seghers deals with refugees so unsympathetically that at least one reader's sentiments were deeply violated.

Technically, "Transit" is even more skilful than "The Seventh Cross," if only because it is more closely knit. It is the story of a young man—the narrator—who escapes from a French labor camp before the German occupation and makes his way to Paris and then to Marseilles. In Paris he accidentally comes into possession of the papers of a German writer named Weidel, who has committed suicide, and in Marseilles he falls in love with Weidel's beautiful wife. Like all the refugees crowding Marseilles, Mme Weidel and the doctor-lover with whom she is traveling are caught in the terrible maze of transit visas, exit visas, and steamship accommodations, and it develops that the narrator, by using his false identity, can expedite Mme Weidel's departure. But he is infatuated with her and wants to keep her near him. Since he doesn't learn until very near the close of the book what the reader has guessed all along—that although Mme Weidel has been estranged from her husband, she still loves him—he feels no scruples about encouraging the delaying action which Mme Weidel is herself playing against the moment when she must depart with the doctor. Although the woman he is supposed to love roams the streets and cafes frantically searching for her husband, the narrator never confesses to her that Weidel is really dead and that it is only his own use of Weidel's papers that has spread the report that Weidel is in Marseilles. And even at the end, when he has learned that she still loves her husband, he lets her leave believing that she is about to be reunited with her husband on board ship.

This is the plot of Miss Seghers's new book, and to me it is a cruel joke of a plot. And if "Transit" is more than its plot, I fail to recognize it—unless, indeed, the "more" is the embroidery of scenes among Miss Seghers's subsidiary characters. The subsidiary characters are the refugees whom the narrator meets daily in the cafes and consulates and steamship offices; I can only describe the author's treatment of them as something between ironic superiority and a sneer. The narrator himself, it is pointed out, has no desire to get out of the country. His willingness to remain in France is given no political purpose, but it is shown to be a kind of affirmation of life in contrast to which the effort at departure of the other refugees is a weakness or a negation. This is a new and unpleasant slant on the people who fled Europe.

I have said that the connection between Miss Seghers's first and second novels is not too remote. It must be traced, I think, through Miss Seghers's political point of view. In "The Seventh Cross" the author frankly expresses her Communist sympathies, but although "Transit" has no such open political bias, it is profoundly rooted in a Communist philosophy of means justifying ends. The "end" in "Transit" is no longer political, it is personal; the hero, however, pur-

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sues his love, as he would no doubt pursue his political objective, with ruthlessness, cunning, and small regard for truth—and this despite the fact that his author thinks of him as a good person. Miss Seghers's novel, in other words, can be read as a rather frightening statement of the outcome, in personal morality, of a political morality which never stops to question the methods it employs.

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IN BRIEF

THE BLACKBOOK OF POLISH JEWRY. Edited by Jacob Apenszlak. Roy Publishers. $3.

The first and longer part of this book is "an account of the martyrdom of Polish Jewry under the Nazi occupation," based chiefly on material smuggled out of Poland. Here is the appalling story of a community which comprised three-and-a-quarter million souls in September, 1939, and had been reduced through starvation, epidemics, and wholesale slaughter to less than a third of that number by the end of 1943. Yet the remnants of Polish Jewry continue to fight the invaders. The second part deals with the thousand-year history of Polish Jewry, and its numerous contributions to learning and art. The book is illustrated with striking photographs and reproductions of documentary evidence of Nazi atrocities.

THE STORY OF PAINTING: FROM CAVE PICTURES TO MODERN ART. By Thomas Craven. Simon and Schuster. $5.

The title of this book is a misnomer, for it is concerned only with Western painting. Mr. Craven writes less brazenly than usual. Something has taken the wind and vinegar out of him, and he seems to be addressing himself to children. All the standard facts and interpretations are here, with now and then some egregious error, such as the statement that Leonardo "invented chiaroscuro." Mr. Craven credits Burchfield, Curry, Grant Wood, Marsh, and Benton with being "leaders of the most important art movement thus far produced in America." He also says that Seurat, Renoir, and Cézanne utilized the discoveries of Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro, when the opposite would be much closer to the truth.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Clifford L. Lord and Elizabeth Lord. Henry Holt. $3.

The Lords' comprehensive collection of maps is not intended as a work of reference but rather as a collateral text, requiring only the application of a fair degree of imagination to make it serve as a striking graphic illumination of the country's history. The distribution of natural resources, population, geographical advantages, etc., as demonstrated through these maps, throws a strong light on the nature of our sectional differences and on the origins of such major crises as the War Between the States.

JEFFERSON AND THE PRESS. By Frank L. Mott. Louisiana State University Press. $1.

In an interesting little monograph Dr. Mott here restores Jefferson's remarks on the press and its freedom to their context. Jefferson has sometimes been quoted against himself by those who have seized on sentences in isolation from their place in his correspondence and in the political developments of his time. This book should leave no doubt that Jefferson was an earnest and ardent champion of a free press.

ART

MIRO belongs among the living masters. He is the one new figure since the last war to have contributed importantly to the great painting tradition of our day—that which runs from Cézanne through fauvism and cubism. During the last ten years his work has maintained a very high level with a consistency neither Picasso nor Mondrian has equaled. The adjectives usually applied to Miró's art are "amusing," "playful," and so forth. But they are not quite fair. Painting as great as his transcends and fuses every particular emotion; it is as heroic or tragic as it is comic. Certainly there is a mood specific to it, a playfulness which evinces the fact that Miró is comparatively happy within the limitations of his medium, that he realizes himself completely within its dominion. But the effort he must exert to condense his sensations into pictures produces an effect to which playfulness itself is only a means. This is "pure painting" if there ever was any, conceived in terms of paint, thought through and realized in no other terms. That Miró's imagination is ignited by its contact with the anatomy of sex takes nothing away from the purity. In Picasso, who is indeed a more profound artist, we can sense a dissatisfaction with the resources of his medium; something beyond painting yearns to be expressed, something which color and line laid on a flat surface can never quite achieve. Miró, on the contrary, seeks the quintessential painting, is content to stay at the center of that exhilaration which is only felt in making marks and signs.

Picasso is more ambitious, more Promethean; he tries to reconcile great contradictions, to bend, mold, and lock forms into each other, to annihilate negative space by filling it with dense matter, and to make the undeniable two-dimensionality of the canvas voluminous and heavy. Miró is satisfied simply to punctuate, inclose, and interpret the cheerful emptiness of the plane surface. Never has there been painting which stayed more strictly within the two dimensions, yet created so much variety and excitement of surface. With an exuberance like Klee's, Miró tries other textures besides canvas and paper—burlap, celotex, sandpaper—a kind of experimentation Picasso usually finds irrelevant to his concerns. Picasso piles pigment on the surface; Miró sinks it in. Yet despite the restricted scope of his ambition, one or two of the large canvases which Miró executed around 1933 are in my opinion more powerful demonstrations—because more spontaneous and inevitable—than Picasso's Guernica mural. And Miró's smaller pictures frequently during the last five or six years before the war manifested greater conciseness and lucidity than anything produced by Picasso during the same period, except for his drawings and the "Femme endormie" of 1935, the "Femme assise au fauteuil," and the "Girl with Rooster" of 1938.

The present Miró exhibition (at the Matisse Gallery, through June 3) contains paintings done between 1934 and 1939, with one oil dating from 1927. Most of this work has not been seen in New York before, and it confirms, if it does not raise, Miró's standing.

André Masson has been an ambitious painter from the beginning, one who accepts and tries to solve the most difficult problems proposed by art in this age. Very little he has done is without interest; yet little so far seems capable of lasting. There is some lack in Masson of touch or "feel"—a lack dangerous to an artist who relies, or professes to rely, so much on automatism or pure spontaneity. A line either too Spencerian or too splintery weakens his drawings; an insistence upon multiplying and complicating planes, while combining two such color gamuts as violet-blue-green-yellow and brown-mauve-red-orange, renders his painting turgid, overheated, and discordant. Energy is dissipated in all directions.

Masson strains after that same *terribilità* which haunts Picasso, is obsessed by a similar nostalgia for the monstrous, the epically brutal, and the blasphe-

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mous. But being nostalgia, it has something too literary about it—too many gestures and too much forcing of color, texture, and symbol. The latest showing of Masson's oils and drawings (at the Rosenberg and Buchholz Galleries respectively, through May 20) does reveal a small advance, especially in two recent oils, "Pasiphae" and "Histoire de Thésée." In the first, black-brown, a dull red, and a mouldy yellow-green are unified into a whole that is cooler and more clarified than any of its parts, with a surface which is alive but not restless. In the second, happily, almost everything except calligraphic line is eliminated. Self-control, elimination, and simplification would seem to be the solution for Masson. But not as these operations are exemplified by two paintings in a new style, which permit thin, curling lines to describe figures over diluted lavenders, mauves, pinks, and greens, arriving at a kind of fermented-sweet decoration. This is impoverishment, not simplification. But even here, possibilities can be glimpsed of better things. There is a chance Masson will surprise us all some day.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

FILMS

"GASLIGHT," Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's production of "Angel Street," is very handsome, generally well acted, especially by Ingrid Bergman, and in most respects a pleasure to see. It is the story, as you probably know, of a man (Charles Boyer) who tries to drive his wife out of her mind. Some of it is fascinating in its demonstrations of pure psychological skill and of the mutual progressions of deceit and pain; it even suggests with what tragic exquisiteness and biological absoluteness the torturer and the tortured are liable to be made for each other. Morally, however, it smells bad to me—though I realize that that may only be, in the language of the pure in heart, my own upper lip. I feel that my own unconscious resources of cruelty are too shrewdly titillated by it, that there is not sufficiently deep understanding or illumination of the subject matter, or any rebuke. Confused about this, I can only report my confusion; but I mistrust the film as I do Ivan Albright's horribly meticulous paintings of wrecked flesh—because of a feeling that the artist, and his admirers, not being mature enough for the subject, have dishonored it and made it immature.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

THERE are a large number of concerts and broadcasts to comment on, the first of which that comes to mind is Leonard Bernstein's concert with the New York Philharmonic. It is natural to begin by looking at a conductor as he conducts; but I find that Bernstein's movements are something I don't like to look at. However, a conductor has a right to do what he wants to achieve his results; and a critic's proper concern is solely with those results. One of Bernstein's mannerisms—his exaggerated, sharp upbeat—might lead one to expect tense and nervous performances; actually the performances of Mozart's "Figaro" Overture and Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony at that Philharmonic concert were all suavity and grace and unstraining brilliance. But then came a performance of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" which was full of violently and hectically discontinuous shifts from slow tempos that were excessively slow to fast ones that were excessively fast, and the other way around. As for Bernstein's symphony "Jeremiah," which he conducted at the concert, it gave me the impression of a facility in pouring forth sounds that proceed from nothing more than this facility. Since then there has been his score for the ballet "Fancy Free," which several hearings have convinced me is atrocious not only as music but as ballet music, because of the way it competes with the choreography for attention.

One of the memories I treasure is of a marvelously light and winged and radiant performance of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto by Toscanini and the New York Philharmonic, with Corigliano playing the solo part with delicacy and purity of style. Toscanini's recent performance of the work at his final General Motors broadcast had the great Heifetz playing with pretentiously mannered and sentimentally distorted phrasing; and someone I know who plays the violin exclaimed: "He exaggerated his staccatos to the point where they didn't have any musical sound!" People have found it difficult to understand how Toscanini could play some of the music he has played; I have found it more difficult to understand how a man who is himself a performing artist with a passion for plastic perfection in phrasing, and who would explode in anger if a solo wind-player in his orchestra were to commit the slightest of

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the phraseological vulgarities committed by Heifetz—how such a man has come to have Heifetz with all his vulgarities as soloist in performances of concertos.

Then, curious to hear a performance that had been described to me as "simply fantastic," I listened to the New York Philharmonic broadcast at which Horowitz played the solo part of Rachmaninov's D minor Concerto. I might say first that my attitude toward the products of men like Rachmaninov and Ravel has changed. A couple of years ago, when I deplored Webster Aitken's devoting part of a recital to Debussy's Etudes, on the ground that they were examples of mere Debussy piano style in a vacuum, I saw the force of Aitken's reply—that as a pianist he was obligated to play, among other things, what had been written to exploit the resources of his instrument. There were of course things like Chopin's Etudes—and indeed all of Chopin's music—which exploited the resources of the piano and in addition had expressive content that gave them value as music; and this was true also of Debussy's "Images." But Aitken's argument made me realize that some of the piano pieces of Ravel, which could not provide musical experiences of any value with the expressive or evocative power of their content, did provide exciting experiences of a different non-musical kind with the effectiveness of their exploitation of their medium. Or rather they did so when they were played in a way that realized this effectiveness. The force of Aitken's reply was derived largely from the magnificence of Debussyan piano sound that he produced with those Etudes, the humor that he imparted to their play with the varieties of the Debussy piano style. In the same way Ravel's exploitation of the orchestra in "Daphnis and Chloë" is something to listen to when the piece is performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony. And Rachmaninov's D minor Concerto—with its piano part that is an exploitation not just of the piano but of the piano as Rachmaninov played it in his unique incisively rhythmic and dramatic style—was something to listen to when he was the solo pianist in the performance. But it proved not to be worth listening to when the piano part was played by Horowitz merely with phenomenal technical virtuosity, and with appalling sentimentality.

Aitken's feeling for his medium and his feeling for music were evident in the beautiful sound and superbly contoured phrasing of his playing in a performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.271 broadcast from WQXR. The conductor was Leon Barzin, who, whenever I have occasion to watch him work and hear the result, always impresses me with his complete technical competence and his first-rate musicianship. And that is interesting in connection with something else. When you try to find out why an Ormandy was engaged for the Philadelphia Orchestra (and why the only other man considered was Iturbi), why a Barbirolli was engaged for the New York Philharmonic, why a Rodzinski was engaged to succeed him, why a Defauw was engaged for the Chicago Symphony, and why in each case a Beecham was passed over, the answers invariably include the statement "And the directors wanted a young man who could grow with the orchestra as Stokowski did in Philadelphia." This is the consequence of having orchestras run by men with smart financial and legal minds but with an understanding of orchestral affairs which caused them to reason that since a young conductor named Stokowski produced the Philadelphia Orchestra, what they had to get was a young conductor—men who, in other words, did not understand that Stokowski produced the Philadelphia Orchestra not with his youth but with his competence, and that what they had to get was not a young conductor but a competent one. Not only that; but having decided to have only a young conductor these men engaged an Ormandy, a Barbirolli, a Rodzinski, a Defauw, but in each case passed over the one young symphonic conductor—Barzin—with the technical competence and musicianship for the job.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE W. NORRIS, Senator from Nebraska from 1913 to 1943, is the father of the TVA.

ERIC ESTORICK is the author of "Stafford Cripps: Prophetic Rebel," and general editor of Duell, Sloan, and Pearce's British Commonwealth Series.

JULES MOCH was a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France. He is now a member of the Consultative Assembly in Algiers.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Kenyon College and managing editor of the *Kenyon Review.*

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May 20, 1944

Letters to the Editors

Won't Do

Dear Sirs: The radio address on Wednesday night, April 12, by the Honorable James F. Byrnes was one of the most terrifying symptoms of the bloody mess coming up that has appeared in many months. Looked at in another way, it was the best argument for communism that has been offered since Strachey's "The Nature of Capitalist Crisis." If Byrnes, the highest official of the government specifically designated to worry about the post-war economy, hasn't been able to think up anything better than federal aid to the states to deal with "nation-wide unemployment," it is clear that those who are trusting the government for brains and leadership are going to get their hands pierced by a broken reed.

Unemployment relief and WPA projects won't do, and to attempt to make them do is to ask for a very brutal awakening. Neither civilians nor soldiers are in a mood to be put off with empty phrases. It has been demonstrated that the technological and human resources of this country are capable, even while blowing two or three hundred million dollars' worth of effort a day on war, of turning out the goods for a decent living for everybody. That decent living we are going to get—or a good many heads are going to have to be broken to stop us. If the government cannot produce, we will get another government that can. We're not going to take unemployment, bread lines, Hoovervilles, and undernourished children. No better service could be done Brother Byrnes than to wake him up to that fact right now.

JOHN H. COLLINS

Colonial Park, Va., April 13

Citizenship for Indians

Dear Sirs: Bills have been introduced in both houses "to authorize the naturalization and the admission into the United States under a quota of Eastern Hemisphere Indians and descendants of Eastern Hemisphere Indians." The people of India do not ask for any special privilege or for unrestricted immigration. Every country of course has the right to have immigration laws and fix such quotas as it may see fit. But they do wish and ask that the stigma of inferiority be removed, as it has been in the case of the Chinese.

Under the Immigration Act of 1924 only tourists, students, visitors, etc., from India may enter the United States, and only as non-quota immigrants. The bill now under consideration would provide that about seventy-five nationals of India may enter the United States annually as immigrants, a number so small that it obviously would create no economic or social problem.

Also, according to the Nationality Act of 1940, nationals of India are ineligible to citizenship in the United States. This bill makes qualified nationals of India eligible. At present there are about 3,000 nationals of India in the United States.

People in India will watch anxiously the progress of these bills in Congress. Questions have been asked in the India Legislative Assembly in New Delhi about it. The Council of State (upper chamber) of the Government of India recently passed a resolution recommending that early steps be taken to obtain United States citizenship rights for the nationals of India.

One of the powerful weapons that Japan possessed in the psychological warfare against the United Nations was removed when the American Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, another when the Congress passed an amendment to make India a beneficiary of the U. N. R. R. A. Passage of this bill would be a staggering blow against Japanese propaganda, and for the cause of a democratic world order.

Readers of *The Nation* who agree with the purpose of the bills are asked to write to their Congressmen, to urge that they support the bills in Congress.

J. J. SINGH, President,
India League of America

New York, April 28

A Little of Both

Dear Sirs: In one and the same issue of *The Nation* (April 15, 1944) the state of Wisconsin is called (1) in an editorial, "the Bible Belt of isolationism," and (2) by I. F. Stone, "the home of progressive Republicanism." Now, I am wondering whether progressive Republicans are Biblical isolationists, or whether the doctors disagree as to the malady—or health—of Wisconsin. Per-

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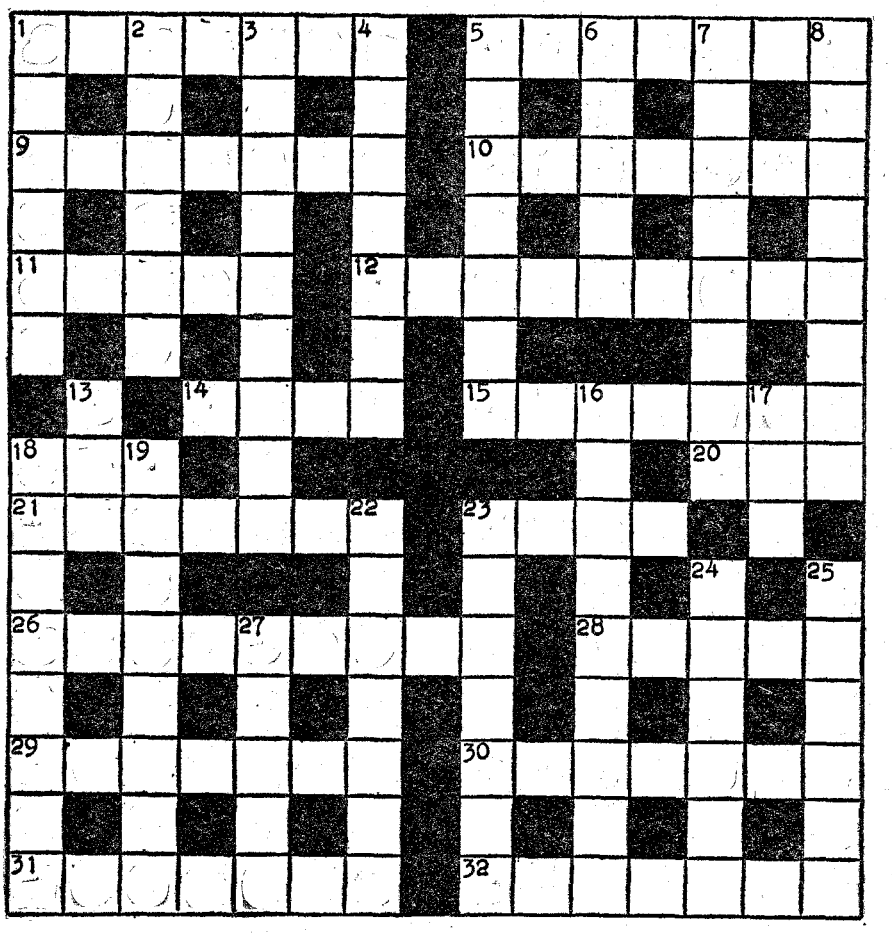
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 64

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Feebly gave vent to the ghost of a caw, in the *Ingoldsby Legend*
5 The right water-bottles for R.A.F. aces
9 Legendary Rhine maiden who landed many a sailor on the rocks
10 Man and lion in a mix-up
11 The head of a mongoose is in the middle
12 Lake Superior is the largest one in this hemisphere (two words, 6 and 3)
14 An obstruction confuses the nags
15 Off to a bad start, but honest on the whole
18 Appears to be the right drink for father
20 He sounds a bright lad
21 Scent dogs will follow for miles
23 Quite poetically
26 Scaremongers perhaps, but they may be right at that
28 This road tells you what you should do on it
29 One who casts the metal or gives the "brass"
30 Some five thousand of them in the British Isles
31 Pine leaves
32 Issued to Chief Petty Officers in the Royal Navy (two words, 4 and 3)

DOWN

1 Apostate or saint
2 Vegetable which might produce auto deterioration
3 "The mother of good fortune"
4 Fish sometimes seen with its tail in its mouth
5 Snuff—just a pinch now and then for them
6 Don't go to bed with this kind of candle
7 Artifices bridge players are not above resorting to
8 German soldiers—or disguised Eton lads, perhaps
13 Scotsman (pardon my French!)
16 Greek capital issue for Egyptian irrigation (two words, 4 and 5)
17 Look up a New York radio station to find the cause of the disturbance
18 Burning oil—the Air Force are partly responsible
19 "Any ice up?" (anag.)
22 "Far from mortal cares retreating, Sordid hopes and vain -------" (Taylor)
23 One must have a tree in this style
24 He's no saint
25 Flotsam's underwater partner
27 The reward is a letter in the middle of a repast

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 63

ACROSS:—1 KNEELING; 5 POTHER; 10 EYOTS; 11 WHOSOEVER; 12 IRON ORE; 13 CRILLON; 14 NICENE; 15 MANAGES; 18 ARSENIC; 21 SPACER; 24 CARIBOU; 26 MARINER; 27 DESULTORY; 28 AVAIL; 29 SPEARS; 30 IDLENESS.

DOWN:—1 KEEP IN; 2 ECONOMICS; 3 LISSOME; 4 NOWHERE; 6 OXONIAN; 7 HOVEL; 8 RARENESS; 9 NONCOM; 16 GREENGAGE; 17 CASCADES; 19 NEBULAR; 20 CRUSOE; 21 SAMOYED; 22 AIR BASE; 23 FRILLS; 25 ROSIE.

haps you can enlighten
as though the patient has [illegible]TION
long enough for his case to be
correctly.
S. G. MORLE.
Berkeley, Cal., April 18.

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